

A
Full and Impartial Account
Of all the
SECRET CONSULTS,
Negotiations, Stratagems, and Intrigues
OF THE
Romish Party
IN
IRELAND.

From 1660, to this present Year 1689.

For the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom.

L O N D O N,

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SECRET CONSULTS

Negotiations, Treaties, and Intelligences

Between the

IN

IRRELIGIOUS

From 1688 to the present time

By the Rev. James Oglethorpe

Author of the

LOVE OF THE

History of the

TO THE
READER.

THE Preface to the ensuing Pamphlet, will
(I am sensible) be attributed to a vain
humour of the Age, rather than to more
important Considerations. But, however that may
be the Apprehension of some, yet the more Judici-
ous will (I doubt not) be of another Opinion,
when they perceive a whole Series of the most pro-
found Policies and Designs, drawn with that
rudeness and disproportion; as equally requires their
Candour, as well as my Apology. Indeed to
give an exact pourtraicture of this Intrigue (which
in all its circumstances appears very extraordinary
and surprizing) would require Apelles his fa-
vourable chance, or at least a more Artificial
Representation than must be expected in the fol-
lowing Discourse. All that I can pretend to,

To the Reader.

is, an Impartial Account of the Matter of Fact: and that being chiefly aimed at, will, with sober Men, be, in some sort at least, interpreted, A Dispensation for the want of exterior Ornament; or however that may prove, I deem'd it much more serviceable to the Publick to present the Reader with this rough draught, rather than conceal that, which (with what imperfection soever 'tis managed) must needs be useful to all Protestants, and especially at this juncture: For here the Reader has an Account of the first steps, that were made in Ireland for the Introduction of Popery into that Kingdom; together with a Description of what obstacles and repulses this Design met with; how 'twas still carried on, notwithstanding its frequent Interruptions and Discouragements, and by what private Cabals, and after what secret Machinations. Here is represented the admirable diligence of an indefatigable Romish Genius for the promotion of the Catholick Cause, which in several periods of State, and vicissitudes of that Government still kept its design on foot, sometimes retreating a few paces backward, when they found it necessary; and at others, not only retrieving that disadvantage, but continuing a greater Progress, when they met with occasions favourable to their Design.

To the Reader.

Design ; which at last they carefully improved to that ripeness wherein it now stands, and to which it has attained by an unparallel'd Violation of the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm, by the most violent and unjust Proceedings in the Reign of the late King James ; of which you have an ample and copious Relation in the following Sheets.

A Full

To the Reader.

Politeness, which we all, they carefully improve
to the utmost degree, it was thought, and to
which it was necessary to be well acquainted & familiar
in the Laws and Constitution of the Nation, by
the most elegant and useful Prose, as the
Principles of the late King James, of which you
have an ample and correct Edition in the British
Library.

A. H. A.

(1)

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SECRET CONSULTS,

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Romish Party in Ireland, from 1660, to this
present Year 1689. for the Settlement of
Popery in that Kingdom, &c.

WHEN the natural Consequent of
our late intestine Differences had
(in a short time) produced so
many various Scenes of Govern-
ment, till by a circular Motion we
center'd in our first Model; and so like *Pythagoras*
his transmigration of Souls were metamorphos'd
into so many differing Shapes, till at last, in the
Year One thousand six hundred and sixty, we became
animated with our first Dispositions to Monarchy,
by the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second;
then it was that several Disputes arose (which
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were Debated before the *King and Council*) concerning the Settlement of *Ireland*; the Lord of *Santry*, Lord Chief Justice of *Ireland*, (a Man equally eminent for Law as well as Loyalty) in an excellent and learned Speech represented to the Board the horrid Rebellion of *Ireland*; together with those Barbarous and Inhumane *Massacres* which he had been an eye Witness of.

In Opposition to which, Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, a Man also very skilful in the Law, but a Knight of the Pope's making, and one that had acted his part in all the *Rebellion* of *Ireland*, assumed the Defence of the Natives of that Kingdom: but as his *Cause* was too apparently bad to be maintained with any tolerable Success; so was his Understanding in the Law inferior to the Lord Chief Justice *Santry's*, who carried the Debate with great Applause, in the Opinion of all that heard it; and had his Advice been accordingly pursued, 'twas thought few of the *Irish* would have got their Estates: and at that time, if (by mistake) the Lord of *Ormond* and Lord *Anglesey* had not joined with the Court-Party, 'twas believed that what the Lord *Santry* urged, as Law, must have prevailed in point of Right; for in those days the Interest of the Duke of *Tork* (which afterwards grew to a mighty height, as you will perceive by the Sequel) was not so powerful as to have prevented it. That which he chiefly insisted upon, as to matter of Law, was, That 'twas most agreeable to the Law of the Land, as well as most equal for the Subject to be Tried by the Common Law, where they would meet with a fair and indifferent Tryal by Juries of their Neighbours, and in this case could have

have no wrong done them; but that the Court of *Claims* was like the Usurper's *High-Court of Justice*, Arbitrary and Unlimited. This touch'd the *Irish* to the quick, for they being conscious of their Guilt, most of 'em Indicted and Outlawed for Treason, despaired upon their Trial at the Bar to make any considerable Defence.

The Government of *Ireland* was first put into 1660. the hands of *Lords Justices*, which were Sir *Maurice Eustace*, Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Mountrath* and the Earl of *Orrery*, the first a Lawyer, the latter, Men that had signally behaved themselves against the *Irish*, during the whole *Rebellion*. Under the Government of these Men, a *Parliament* was called in the City of *Dublin*, and the *Convention*, which sat upon the King's Restoration, dissolved. The first thing they proceeded upon, were the Bills sent them from *England*, for by the Law of *Ireland*, Intituled, *Poyning's Act*, the *Parliament* of *Ireland* can read no Bill in their House, which proceeds not by these Steps: First, The *Chief Governour and Council* of *Ireland* draw up a Bill and send it over to the *King and Council* in *England*, who either approve or correct it as they think convenient; and so, in the second place, return it back to the *Chief Governor and Council*, and these send it to the *House of Commons*, who have only a Negative Voice, and can neither alter nor amend a word of it. This, by way of Digression, which differing so much from the Practice of the *Parliament* of *England*, induced me not to think it altogether unpleasant, or unneces-

sary, to present the Reader with this brief Account of it.

But to return to the *Parliament*, the variety of interests in that Kingdom gave birth to several Disputes among them; for the accommodat'g whereof it was thought necessary at Court to send over a *Lord Lieutenant*, for about this time a great Controversie arose among all Parties, which was founded upon this occasion: A new interest was set on foot, in which neither *Souldiers*, *Adventurers*, nor *Irish* (according to the first *Declaration* from *Breda*) were concerned, and yet it related to the first *Souldiers* that fought against the *Irish*, which were now called *Forty-nine Men*; these being King's-Men, were not provided for in the *Parliament* and Usurper's time, and how to make Provision for them now, was the matter in Dispute. Some Lands indeed there were that had not been set out to *Souldiers*, and *Adventurers*, which were allotted these Men; but this Provision was not considerable, and therefore the *forfeited Corporations* and *Houses* that were in them, were hereunto annexed; and to render 'em the more valuable, a Clause was inserted in the Act, That no *Irish Papist*, in what manner soever he justified his innocency, should enjoy any *House* within a *Corporation*, except the Natives of *Corke* and *Featherd*. This the *Irish* vehemently exclaimed against as barbarous and inhumane, that, to serve the conveniency of a particular Set of Men, a Man must appear innocent in the *Country* and enjoy his Estate, but be adjudged a Rebel in the *City*; and upon that account be dispossessed of his *Houses*. On the other hand,

hand, the *English* complained, That the *Natives* by an Illegal, Arbitrary Court, were made innocent, though they were known to have been concerned in the *Rebellion*; for that in truth 'twas beyond all peradventure that not Ten of the *Irish Papists* were free from *Rebellion* and *Murder*: The Duke of *Ormond* had a great Arrear due to him upon this Fund, and after mutual Contests on either side, the Affair was settled, to the Satisfaction of the *Protestants*.

But in order to a firmer and more mature Establishment of things, it was (amongst other Consultations) resolved in Council, to send over the Lord *Roberts* for *Ireland* in Quality of the Lord Lieutenant, as a Person whose indifferency as to the various and opposite interests of that Kingdom, might bring forth a compleat and impartial settlement; but his being an *Englishman*, and not related to, and so consequently not interested in favour of the *Irish*, occasioned the Duke of *York* (whose Affection to the *Natives* of that Kingdom, has appeared by too pregnant and demonstrative Proofs) to work with the King his Brother to send over the Duke of *Ormond*, whose Acquaintance with, and Relation to divers of the *Irish Nobility* and *Gentry*, did rationally promise a more favourable regard to their Interests; though what probability soever this Prospect had in it, it finally turned to their disadvantage, and that by the even steerage of the Duke of *Ormond*, who, though placed at the Helm, in favour to the *Irish*, yet so signally espoused the Interest of the *English Protestants* in all their just and legal demands,

that

1662.

that upon that very account he lost the favour of the Duke of York.

This management of things, made the *Papists* very sensible of their mistake; but to correct it in a very high measure, they procured the removal of some of the *Commissioners* of the Court of *Claims*, and got others put in, exactly calculated for their present design. The leading Man was one *Rainsford*, who drove so furiously, that complaints were made to the King. *Talbot* (now *Tyrconnel*) was at this time made principal Agent for the *Irish* *Papists* at Court, and upon the account of soliciting for them, had Sums of Money rais'd him by way of *Tax*, upon all that passed the Court of *Claims*; and in such cases wherein men had no Friends, nor good Titles, he bought their pretences, and by *Rainsford's* means pallied the *Claim*; from all which illegal courses, 'twas visible to the *English*, that they were in a lost condition, which brought many of them under such apparent discouragements, as to part with their *Estates* for a year or two's Purchase; neither could any man make a measure of his Title, so arbitrary were the *Commissioners* in their Proceedings. And as the *Irish* insinuated themselves into the favour of *Rainsford*, and the *Commissioners* of the Court of *Claims*, or by the powerful solicitation of their Agent at Court, procur'd *Recommendatory Letters* from thence; in the same proportion they pass'd their innocence, not according to their demerit.

For what Complaints soever were made by the *Irish*, of the Cruelty of *Oliver's* Court, in criminalizing them; yet some who prov'd their innocence there, were decreed nocent by these *Commissioners*;

oners; and where they had no pretence of taking away an *Irish*-man's *Estate*, that was adjudg'd *innocent* in the Usurper's time, in that case they obtain'd *Proviso's* in the *Act* of *Settlement* to deprive them of their *Estates* for *Rebellion*: As for instance, the *Knight* of *Kerry*, who though a *Papist*, yet always so faithfully adher'd to the *English* *Interest*, and had been so great an instrument of divers of the *Protestants* preservation, that for that reason he was by the *Usurper* restored to his *Estate*; his case was so notorious, that the *Parliament* (though their whole Fortunes depended upon the *Act* of *Settlement*) refus'd passing the *Act*, except that clause in prejudice to the *Knight* of *Kerry*, was struck out; notwithstanding that they were inform'd at the same time, That if the *Act* was sent back, and altered, it should be to their disadvantage, as indeed it prov'd; however it was Corrected as to that Clause.

So much of this *Act* did so manifestly incline to favour the *Irish*, as justly created Complaints by the *English*, which seemingly to redress, a new *Act* was prepared, Entitled, *The Act of Explanation*; the consequence of which was, That the *Protestants* were glad to sit down with the loss of one third; and where the *Irish* had either been so notoriously criminal, as that no *Palliations* could extenuate the blackness of their *Rebellion*; or else were Men of that inconsiderable interest, as render'd them incapable of passing their innocence, in such cases their *Estates* were claim'd by other *Irish*, whose interests at Court were more prevalent; such were the *Earls* of *Clanarrigh*,

Clan-

Clawricard, Lord Costela Dillon, Earl of Carlingford and many more, who pass'd their Claims for twice more than ever they had before the *Rebellion*.

Pursuant to the *Act* passed for the payment of *Quit-rent* to the Crown, for all Lands that were *Seiz'd*, and *Sequestred*, the *English* paid *Quit-rent* in many places where their Lands were scarce worth it; but when the Court of Claims was over, and the *Parliament* of *Ireland* Dissolv'd, then the *Irish* that paid *Quit-rent*, obtain'd Grants by means of the Duke of York (who omitted no opportunities of testifying his good will to them) not only to be remitted of their *Quit-rent*, but of their Arrears also.

To this height had the *Papish Design* advanc'd it self at a Juncture, when the *English Interest* seem'd not only to carry the preeminence, but even to have reach'd the Meridian of her Triumph at Court: and though it was believed upon the King's Restoration, there could not have been the twentieth part of *Ireland* gain'd from the *English*; yet what with the thirds taken at one blow from the *English*, and by *Nominations*, and other *Stratagems* of State, there was almost an half of the Kingdom in value lost, notwithstanding at the same time the most innocent of the *Irish* were depriv'd of their *Estates*, and the greatest *Rebels* got more than their own. This was the first step advanc'd for the introduction of *Papery* into that Kingdom; and notwithstanding the small Progress it had then seemingly made, it so far encouraged (even in this time of its Infancy) the most considerable of the *Irish*, as often to in-
-and-
timate

time to the *English*, That in a short time the *Protestants*, and they, must be of one Religion.

It was very remarkable, That in the Year One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty Eight, *Talbot*, Brother to *Tyrconnel*, and *Titular Archbishop* of *Dublin*, Landing at a place called the *Sheriff*, within Twelve Miles of that City, and being very Hospitably entertained by one Captain *Coddington*, Lodging all Night at his House; the next Morning took him aside, and after the most Affectionate Expressions of Kindness, asked him what Title he had to that Estate; for that he observed he had expended considerably upon its improvement? *Coddington* answered, That 'twas an old Estate, belonging to the Earl of *Twmond*. *Talbot* replied, That was nothing, it did belong to the Church, and it would all be taken away; therefore advised him to lay out no more upon it, but get what he could, and then desert it. All this was offered upon strong injunctions of the most Inviolable Secrecy.

1668.

The Duke of *Ormond* was then Lord Lieutenant, and nothing advantageous to their Interests could be managed whilst he continued in that Post; which was the rise to divers Consultations at Court for his removal. It had been too palpable for the *Papish Party* to have appeared interested in it; wherefore an Intrigue was then formed of renewing the ancient Animosities betwixt him and the Duke of *Buckingham*. This was reduced to Act, and the effect was propor-

1669,

tionable to the design. The new thing to be considered, was, who should succeed him, which was a matter that required a very nice and critical management. They pitched upon the Lord *Roberts*, as a person that had been formerly disappointed of that Station: which begetting a prejudice in him, and meeting with a Vindictive Spirit (whose temper they knew to be such) would prompt him invidiously to inspect into, or else to create faults in the Government of the Duke of *Ormond*, which was the end of the Court-*Intrigue*, and of his advancement; as knowing that his uneasiness to those of that Kingdom, would serve to prepare a fair reception for the L.

1670.

B. ——— a Man of whose inclinations to their interest, the *Rapish Party* had the most convincing assurances; and agreeably to this whole Scheme of policy, the Lord *Roberts* remained Lord-Lieutenant about Six Months, and then the L. B. was sent over. *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, leaves the Court, and follows his Brother the *Tisular Archbishop*, and lives privately; but notwithstanding his Retirement, is still engaged in all the Secret Counsels with Sir *Ellis Leaton* the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary.

And now to accomplish their purpose, the first thing to be done, was to set up a pretence that the King when in *Exile*, had obliged himself to the *French King* to restore the *Irish* to their Religion and their Estates; and lest a neglect of this should occasion a Breach with *France*, something must be acted in pursuance to it: So it was ordered, That notwithstanding the Law to pre-

prefer Irish Papists to the Commission of the Peace, in which they behaved themselves with that partiality and insolence, (Properties inherent to most, if not all of them) that they became odious, even to the judicious of their own party.

1671.

The next thing was to regulate the Corporations, which by an Act of the last Parliament, there was power for the Lord Lieutenant and Council to do. This was managed with such great secrecy, that none were made acquainted with it, till it was actually drawn, and brought ready to the Council Board. The next day there was sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, an Order for them to call a Common Council, and to turn them out, and to make a new Government in the City. This they well understood would create a disturbance, which they were desirous so to improve among the Citizens, as to render the Protestants disaffected; for which purpose they industriously laboured to irritate and provoke them, as the Lord Mayor had done the Year before, when a number of Boys got up in a Tumult to pull down a Bridge which was erecting contrary to the desire of the City; where when the Lord Mayor, and Constables had suppress'd them, the Lord Lieutenant ordered Soldiers, as they were carrying them to Prison, who discharg'd several Shots amongst them, and killed some of them.

1672.

But to return to the Order of Council for moulding the Corporation, the Aldermen gave ready obedience, though they forced the bottom of

the Design. This compliance of the *Aldermen* necessitated them to take new measures; for the most considerable of the *Aldermen* were Men of *New Interest*, and had been noted for keeping out *Papists* from the City Freedom: and whilst these *Aldermen* were in Power, no *Popish Design* could succeed: and therefore to facilitate by another, what they could not effect by former Stratagems, the next work was to prepossess the Populace with prejudice against the *Aldermen*, representing them as the *Authors* and *Contrivers* of this New Model, though (as it was afterwards proved, upon an hearing before the Earl of *Essex* and Council, when Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) they never heard word of 'em till they were brought to 'em to the *Tole-sale* with orders to put 'em in Execution.

1672.

At that time there came over to *Dublin* a Person who assumed several names, (a practice as agreeable to the Interest and Policy of the Church of *Rome*, and as common, as that of variety of Shapes, and Professions) sometime he went by the name of *Payne*, at others by that of *Nevell*, and was found to be the same person that was afterwards committed to *Newgate* for some high Misdemeanour relating to *Coleman* and the *Popish Plot*. This *Nevell* (as has since been apparent in the instance before named) had his part with *Coleman*, and was sent over for *Ireland* as his proper Province, wherein to act the designed *Tragedy*: He remained for some time obscure in *Dublin*, and after that was received into the *Castle*; but never appeared till this (as was deem'd) seasonable.

seasonable juncture, and then in the capacity of Under-Secretary to Sir Ellis Leaton.

His business was to infuse into the Populace of the City of Dublin, an Opinion of the Treachery of their Recorder, Sir William Davis; and to make the pretext the more plausible, he had Instructions to add, That the Recorder and the Lord Primate, then Lord Chancellour, counselled the ~~Law~~ *B.* to enact those Laws for the abolishing of the Ancient Government of the City; and farther insinuating, that this was done at the desire, and instigation, and by the contrivance of the chief Aldermen. This impious suggestion being not only artfully spread among, but also too easily credited by the Citizens, induced 'em to pitch upon Nevell as their most proper Agent, and in order to this, advanced Money which they presented to Sir Ellis Leaton, who, together with Nevell, brought the then Lord Mayor, Tatty, with the Sheriffs to the Lord Lieutenant, who publicly declared the Relation above; and withal promised to recal his former Order. Upon which he called a Council, but the unravelling of the business discovered a Popish Intriague, which occasioned their not agreeing with the Lord Lieutenant.

After this a Consult was held by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, with Colonel Talbot, now Lord Tyrconnel, and his Brother the then Titular Archbishop of Dublin, as also with Sir Nicholas Plunkett, an old Irish Lawyer, before mentioned (who was formerly one of the Pope's Supreme Council at Kilkenny in Ireland.) This Consult was upon

1672.

upon a Sunday, at Talbot's House, Three Miles from Dublin, where it was resolved, That the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs should call a general Assembly of the City, and by the Act of that Assembly turn out the Recorder, together with those Aldermen which were opposite to the Romish Party. Matters were so far acted, in pursuance to this intended Subversion, that the Assembly was all ready in Council, but found all the Twenty four Aldermen unanimous; so that they could not, according to the Laws of that City, pass any Order, in regard that none could be made without the Assent of the Court of Aldermen, who sat in a Room by themselves. This was a fatal obstacle to their Design, whereupon they sent to the Lord Lieutenant to be Instructed how, and in what manner, they should proceed; and in the interim kept the Assembly shut up all the day. At last they received the following Directions, That one of the Sheriffs, with several of the Commons, should come into the Aldermen's Court, and bring a Petition in the name of the whole City, to turn out Sir William Davis, the Recorder, and Seven Aldermen, who were of the greatest account in that City. But notwithstanding the depth of this Policy, which was lain with all the artifice and subtilty it could be capable of, yet was the whole of it privately discovered by one of the Sheriffs, which put the Aldermen into a posture of Preparation for their Defence; which was managed with that success, that upon its coming to be debated, the adverse Party obtain'd only the Suffrages of two indignant Aldermen, which gave a considerable check to the Intrigue.

But then the *Lord Mayor* called a private Assembly, and not one of the *Seven Aldermen* were present: The *Commons* were called into the *Aldermen's Court*, and there, in a tumultuous and irregular manner, they were turned out, and *Seven* of the *Rabble* put in their places; as also *Leason* the *Lord Lieutenant's Secretary* was made *Recorder*.

This Revolution so awakened the Eyes of the *Citizens* of *Dublin*, that they began to make a more narrow Inspection into the main drift and tendency of it; which, within a Month after 'twas set on foot, they plainly perceived was immediately levelled at the Foundation of the Protestant Interest and Religion. They now became apprehensive how miserably they had been imposed upon; especially when they saw *Papists* brought into the *Common-Council*, and every day the disguise so thrown off, that they remained no longer doubtful of a most apparent and palpable Design of introducing *Papery*.

About this time *Talbot*, the *Titular Archbishop* of *Dublin*, apply'd himself to the *Lord Lieutenant*, and borrowed some of the *Hangings* of the *Castle*, *Silver Candlesticks*, *Plate* and other *Utensils* to use at an *High Mass*; which *Sir Ellis Leason* got to be sent with the Complement of saying, That he hoped to have *High Mass* at *St. John's Church* at *Christmas*, and which in all probability had been effected, if a discovery of a most bloody and inhumane Conspiracy to be acted in this Year, had not seasonably prevented it; of which take the following Account.

The

The *Priests* (by Directions from their *Superiours*) ordered their several *Congregations* at *Mass*, That at such a time every *Roman Catholick* should fix over their Doors a *Cross* made of *Straw*: The People were curious to understand the reason of this Order; but the matter was carried with so much secrecy, that the *Priests* themselves, 'twas believed, knew no more than that it was designed to bless the Peoples Houses. This, in pursuance to the Advice and Instruction of the *Priests* (who like so many *Infallible Oracles*, are, upon all occasions, how difficult or unreasonable soever, most punctually obeyed) was generally performed, and at the same time vast multitudes of *Priests* came from beyond the Seas; and it appears by the Sequel, That some of these were better acquainted with the bottom of this black and damnable Intrigue, than generally the poor ignorant *Priests* of *Ireland* were, to whom, 'twas not by the *Hellish Conclave* at *Rome* thought fit, to Communicate a matter of this private and great importance. For one of these *Foreign Priests* finding several Houses which had not *Crosses* fixed at their Doors, he warned the People, with great earnestness, to put them up; and further told them, That this omission might be their Ruine, though he would not name to them the particular Instance wherein. But amidst the People's various conjectures, as to the occasion of this so general an Order, One of these *Foreign Priests*, more open-hearted than the rest, acquaints a Friend of his with this Design; which being by him communicated to another, and this other acquainting some Friend of his,

till

till at last by this Relation of it to several hands, the matter was so far divulged, that 'twas impossible to conceal it any longer from being publicly known. This intended *Bloody Massacre* was formed after the ensuing manner: Upon a certain day (appointed for the Execution of this dismal Tragedy) all the *Protestants* were to be barbarously Murthered, and the *Signal* appointed to distinguish the *Irish* from these *Hereticks*, was, a *Cross* of *Straw* put up before their *Doors*, which wheresoever that was not found, all those *Houses* were to be destroy'd. But this being opportunely discovered, search was made, and *Crosses* were accordingly found at most of the *Irish Doors*, in the whole Province of *Munster*; which being made up in a very small compass, were not before taken notice of. Search was made for the *Priest*, who was the first *Author* of this Discovery; but he was not to be found: and the *Government* in *Ireland* was then so extremely *byassed*, and discovered so partial an affection to the *Irish Interest*, that no encouragement was given to a farther Inspection into this *horrid Plot*; which upon a narrower search would doubtless have answered the whole of the Relation given of it by the *Priest*, and would have appeared a most *Unchristian* and *Unnatural*, but upon these accounts, (in the present sense and practice of the Church of *Rome*) a more *Catholic* *Design*. But such as were active and industrious in laying open this mischievous and pernicious *Conspiracy*, had their Cattle stole from 'em, and were threatened to have their Houses burnt; with such like terrifying devices of the *Irish*, which they are not only wont to

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give

give out, but also to practise against such of the *English*, as endeavour to confront them in their evil Designs. This (together with the connivence of the Government) put a stop to any farther discovery; so that the whole was hushed up, and passed over in silence.

Thus we see, (that to what proficiency soever the *Papish Interest* had attained by the violent and irregular proceedings of the Court of *Chambers*, and other artifices of its first rise and production) that it was at that time but in its infant state, when compared with that maturity it had now insensibly aspired to, under the Government of the L. B. The Duke of Ormond, when in the Government, did in the whole conduct of Affairs so vigorously support the *Protestant Interest*, that he remained an inseparable obstacle to their Design, unless some method were taken to put him out of that Station; in order to which (as you have heard) the Lord Roberts was to be practised upon, whose prejudice (they doubted not) would carry him to very severe Reflections upon the Duke of Ormond's Government, and indeed the experiment answered the design of the undertakers; for the first thing that the Lord Roberts did (which I should have mentioned when I spoke of his succeeding the Duke of Ormond, but however may not improperly be inserted in this place) was to pry into the Duke of Ormond's Government, and in a manner to encourage and invite persons to make their Complaints; but 'twas found a difficult task to find Faults after a Person of so great Honour and Integrity, as he was. But however to put his Design

Design in Execution, he first gave opportunity to the *Officers* of the *Army* to make their *Complaints*, which not succeeding, then he countenances the *private Souldiers* to offer their *Grievances*; and in order to this, appoints *Commissioners* to go round the Kingdom, but all to no purpose: afterwards he attempts the same in the *City of Dublin*, to see if they would complain for *Quartering* of *Souldiers*; but that *Device* came likewise to nothing. But, alas, all this would not fix him long in the *Government*: He was sent over but to serve a turn, and after being a *necessary Instrument* for a while must now give place to a fitter Agent, the *L. B.* who was now appointed to guide the *Chariot*:

Quem si non tenuit, magni tamen excidit ausi;
Though he could not hold the *Rein* so ready as fully to compleat the course, yet was the undertaking noble in it self; and how ever it succeeded, could argue no less than a *Gallant Resolution* for the *Catholick Cause*; and which indeed, he had at last brought to that high pitch as to draw in the *Populace* (by amusing them with specious *Preferences* against the *Magistracy*) to an espousal of his interest. But however 'twas happy for the *Protestants* that the *Rabble* at last became sensible that they had look'd at the wrong end of the *Perspective*, and that things had been represented to them in a *false light*, and in colours quite different from what they now appeared: *Papery* had now almost arrived to its *Zenith*, and wanted but little of that *Perfection* which that horrible, *Bloody contrivance* before mentioned, was designed to compass; a practice of a

parallel nature with the former *Irish Rebellion*, and *Parisian Massacre*, and the like infallible demonstrations of the Church of Rome's undoubted *Catholicism*.

1672. But 'tis high time to hasten to the aforesaid Affair of the *Corporation*. The seasonable discovery of the afore-mentioned *Sheriff*, gave the *Aldermen* the opportunity of sending over Sir *William Davis* to *London*, who representing a true Description of this Design to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, made that great Politician swear, That the *L. L. was a mad Man*; which Negotiation with the said Earl, produced so successful an effect, that about a Month after the Earl of *Essex* was nominated Lord Lieutenant, which for the present interrupted the Progress of the *Papish Design* in *Ireland*, though the *Natives* of that Kingdom were so elevated in their Expectations of its succeeding, that they forbore not boasting to their Confidants of its improvement at Court.

This *Romish Design*, which had fully appear'd in its proper shape in *Ireland*, began soon after this to unmask it self in *England*, and a remarkable Passage occurred, which not a little contributed to the untwisting of this Intricacy of State, which had been carefully spun with so fine a Thread. The *King*, the *Duke of York*, and *Clifford*, the *Lord Treasurer*, were one day at a certain House, in a private Room, where one Sir *W. B.* (a *Commissioner* of the *Excise* of *England*, and of the *Revenue* of *Ireland*) came, and being a Person that frequently accommodated the *King* with Money, was wont to gain access

access at all hours, and in presumption of this liberty was at the Door, ready to enter the Room; but his hearing the King speak, with more than ordinary earnestness, began in him a curiosity to hearken with some Attention, but could hear only some broken and imperfect Expressions. The Duke also spoke so low, that he could not understand him; but Clifford was loud as in publick, answering the King in a very audible and articulate manner, in these words, *Sir, if you are drove off upon fears, you will never be safe; the work will do, if you declare your self with Resolution, there is enow to stand by you.* The King replied, *This name, Popery, will never be swallowed by the People;* upon which the King started off his Seat, and said, *Some Body is at the Door.* Whereupon Clifford hastily opened it, and without speaking, fell furiously upon B, dragging him to a pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down. Soon after this B. dyed, which was not improbably imputed to that Misfortune.

Here we may reasonably reflect upon those Politick (and for some time) imperceptible steps, by which *Popery* gradually gained ground upon us, both in *Ireland*, and *England*. In *Ireland* the whole Scheme had been managed with so much address, as to engage the Populace to their Party, as has been already shewn, in *England*; the Design was lain with that depth, and so profoundly disguis'd with the most artificial Delusions, That few (except some of the most Judicious, and these no other wise than by Conjecture) were able to fathom it. But God, who brings to
light

light the hidden things of darkness, and whose powerful Prerogative is such as oftentimes to disappoint the wise in their own Craftiness, did wonderfully insatiate the wicked Devices of these Men, and that by an opportune discovery, when they were possess'd with the greatest hopes of its attaining its designed effect.

1672. But to proceed upon the former Discourse, interrupted by this Digression. In this Year a little Instrument of the Pope appeared, who by degrees became no inconsiderable Actor in the Affairs of the Romish Court, one Thomas Sheridan. This Man was Educated in Trinity Colledge near Dublin, where he commenced Master of Arts, and after that entered into the Holy Order of a Deacon of the Church of Ireland; but upon an intimate Acquaintance contracted with the Jesuitical Party, was discovered by these politick Engineers of State, to be a Person, whose natural sagacity, joyn'd with his artificial improvements (as to which none of his co-temporaries in the University could dispute the Precedence) might justly render him a fit Object for their purpose. This Design of theirs, co-operating with his boundless Ambition, made him not solicitous to aspire to an higher rank in the Church (though otherwise his pregnant parts might reasonably have entitled him to very eminent preferment in it) but now that he had another Game to play, he suddenly (to the Admiration of all that knew or heard of him) abandons his Sacred, and assumes a Civil Profession, that of a Collector of the Customs in an our-Port of Ireland: a place he

he was as unqualified for, as he was deem'd capable of that of the Church; the place but an hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He remained three or four Years in this place, but not to the small amazement of such as were acquainted with his profuseness: For 'twas visible that his Salary could not answer a quarter of his Expence, living at a very extravagant height in imitation of his *Master Coleman*.

At last the Intrigue appeared more intelligible to some inquisitive Men, who began more narrowly to pry into it. For 'twas considered, that his being *Collector of Cork* (a great place of Commerce by Sea) afforded him Intelligence from all parts, whereby Letters from *Rome, Spain, &c.* to all the *Papish Clergy*, could arrive safely through his Hands: and as this was answerable to their first design of fixing him in that Station, so did it render him the more considerable amongst them; notwithstanding that, to avoid all suspicion, he still put on the disguise of the *Protestant Religion*, which he counterfeited with so ingenious an air, that most believed him *extream* in that *Profession*, and were apt to think him inclin'd to *Presbytery*, as deriving it from his *Masters the Farmers*, who were called *The Fanatick Farmers*, being a Set of Brewers in *London*.

Thus we see how this bigotted Morary of the *Romish Church* transformed himself into a different Shape, and covered his black Design with the Mask of *Presbytery*, as the *Stalking Horse* to other Fowls, upon which his aim was set. But as this disguise could not remove the suspicions of the

the most judicious, discerning Men, who considered his assuming an Employment (quite contrary to the *Stream* of his former Education, and to that *eminent Figure* which in all probability he might have aspired to in the Church) as an *Introduction* to some secret *Project*, which at present they could not comprehend, but soon after became fully informed in it. For the aforesaid Farmers going off, *Sheridon* (before their time was fully expired) obtains leave from them to go for *London*, and there the *Vizard* he had formerly worn was soon thrown off, and he (as in his proper colours) appeared an absolute *Creature* of the Duke of *York's*, and at that time a great Consult was held to bring on the Deliverance of *Ireland*. For now the poor *Catholics* there (after their late disappointment in the before-mentioned *Intrigue* of the Corporation) were almost in despair, and moreover his *Royal Highness* was in danger of losing his most faithful adherents, many hundreds of them having continued there *incognito* since the *L-B's* time, expecting to be *Officers*; and these Men were very impatient.

1673.

The Earl of *Essex* was then in the *Government* of *Ireland*, a person whose great integrity and prudence in the steady piloting of this tottering Ship of the State, is not easie to describe. This Skillful Manager of the *Helm*, *Steer'd* so judiciously, at this nice juncture, that notwithstanding the unwearied endeavours of the *Papists*, nothing could be effected to their advantage, whilst he kept the *Sword*. Wherefore a
Project

Project was thought on to take the Farm of the Revenue of *Ireland*, by which the whole Revenue of the Kingdom must pass through their hands; besides that, this offered to them the command of the Sea-Ports, together with the conveniency of employing in the Revenue, Fifteen Hundred Officers fit for their purpose. This being set on foot, took well, and *Sheridan* acted his share in it with great applause: For his being a Collector (added to his Natural Ingenuity and great parts) had now rendred him a great Proficient in the Affairs of the Customs and the Revenue. The Caution required in the management of this Intrigue, hindered the Duke from appearing in it, and *Coleman* was deem'd also a person very unfit to be concerned: for though he assumed the shape of a *Protestant* at that time, yet was he shrewdly suspected of *Popery*.

After several Debates, it was concluded, That *Sheridan* was the most proper instrument to carry on this affair; but then his credit in *London* was not considerable enough for a matter of this great moment: So after several attempts, recourse was at last had to one *Muschamp*, then in *London*, an old Projector, and one of the present Farmers, but a poor man. This *Muschamp* acquaints another greater Projector than himself, one *Sir J. S.* but he was a man of moderate fame, however they could get none of substance to joyn with them, and both these were projecting Heads, and acquainted with *Sir W. P.* a man of *Ireland* of a great fortune, and whose Principles were most consonant to this concern, who upon the proposal being made

to him, embrac'd it with this assurance of having men of Estates joyned with them. This being related by *Sheridan* to the Duke and *Coleman*, to effect it, 'twas found necessary to draw in some man of value, which seem'd to be a matter of great difficulty. But at last one *Ryder* (a young man that had of his own, and *Sisters Fortunes*, Twenty Thousand Pounds) was named; but his being publicly known as an intimate Favourite of the Duke's, was lookt upon as almost an inseparable Obstacle: For all matters relating to *Ireland*, were so closely and tenderly handled; that notwithstanding the Duke carried the greatest stroke, yet acted so much at a distance, that he appeared to be outwardly unconcerned. However the exigency of this affair was such, as necessitated him to shew himself more open in this than upon former occasions; and therefore to facilitate their purpose, *Ryder* was engaged, together with some other small men, who were also prevailed upon. The business thus laid, they appeared upon the Stage, and bid for the whole Revenue of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Essex*, who received constant intelligence from Court, and from some of the *Papish Clergy* in *Ireland*, about this time had an account of designs to remove him from the Government; and how one part lay in taking the *Farm* upon which he obtains leave to go for *England*, leaving the Lord *Primate*, and the Lord *Gratand* Justices. Upon his arrival at Court, he perswaded the *Game*, &c. for *Papery*, and the best way to prevail in it, was not by downright opposition;

tion; he therefore concludes upon a more prevailing method, which was to make court to the Duke of York, which he managed with so much art, and so skilful an Address (as indeed he was very capable of doing beyond their *Congress at Rome*) that notwithstanding it was resolved that he should depart; yet was he kept so long in England, till orders came from the Holy Fathers, for his return to Ireland.

He had so far wound himself into the Duke's good opinion of him, that he thought him secure for their Party; and as the first testimony of his Integrity, he had Instructions from him to promote *Shandon* and the *Farmers*: which the Earl managed with such great wisdom, as at once to please the Duke, and yet to be serviceable to the *Protestants* of Ireland, who had now been in a lost, irrecoverable condition, if his admirable Conduct had not prevented it.

And now this great Man returns for Ireland to 1676. *few* again in that Government threatened by approaching Tempests; the *Farmers* also going over, enter upon their business. Sir *W. P.* became very notorious in declaring not only to employ *Rapists*, but that he would have the Priests collect the *Hearth-money*. Some were apt to believe that this was done on purpose to get off: but those who were most intimate with him, speak quite otherwise, and that the hopes of being created a Lord, and a Privy Counsellor, so transported him beyond all the bounds of moderation, as induced him to take this violent course, the more to ingratiate himself with the Duke; but like the *As* in the

Fable, beat his Master down in imitation of the Spaniels fawning; and though he was a man of great Learning, and of a Mathematical Head, and bred abroad, yet so vehemently desirous of Riches, as hurried him often into great Extravagancies.

The Earl of *Essex* being Landed in *Ireland*, had a difficult Game to play, he had 'tis believed) made fair Promises of being kind to the *Irish*, and to stand by the *Farmers*; to the first he gave good words, and received them well at Court: but the *Farmers* they began to model their Officers, and if some speedy and effectual stop was not put to these Proceedings, the whole Ports of the Kingdom would soon be in *Papists* hands, which was like to prove a matter of most dangerous consequence. To defeat this Intrigue, required a more than ordinary presence of mind, and a deep foresight, which as this wise Earl was endowed with in a very high measure, so did he signally shew it upon this occasion: There was but one way to effect it, and that was by raising scruples, as to the value of the *Farmers* and their Securities; but this he must not appear in, but instructs some of his Confidants of the Council, to act that part for him, and there was one, who, till this late Catastrophe, was thought to be of great Integrity and Honour; the Lord *Granard* he was bold and daring, and a Mortal Enemy to Sir J. S. wherefore he moves at the Council-Board, that inspection should be made into the Securities of these *Farmers*. The Proposal was well accepted by the rest of the Council: For indeed they were Men, (as Sir W. P. said truly of them) *viz. Farmers pick'd up in the Streets, with this*

this disadvantage, that take the first seven men you meet, and they shall exceed these for every thing, but cheating. The Earl of Essex seemed to oppose the Council in this Vote, put it off, and acquainted the Farmers, and also gave an account of it to the Duke, whom he had now so far gain'd upon as to become a Confident. But every day ulber'd in new Complaints against the Farmers running away with the Money of the Kingdom, &c. which for some time the Earl seemed to decline; but at last (in appearance against the Grain) agrees with the Council, and sends over to the King the Objections against the Farmers, which in short were so great, that they were not to be trusted. Whereupon Commissioners of inspection were set over them; one was the Earl of Essex's Confident: and these men attended to the motion of the Farmers with so vigilant an eye, that nothing could be effected.

In this manner was this great and dangerous Plot, (carried on for several years by the Duke and his Minions) most miraculously defeated by the unparallell'd Conduct of that Prudent Earl, who so far out-vy'd the *Romish Politicks*, as to cajole that party into an approbation of those Proceedings, which proved fatally destructive of their design: which so disheartened those two accomplices, R— and Sheridan, that they flung up their Parts, and returned to Court; the last to attend his Master Coleman, who happened to come in a fit time to succeed him in his Employment: for not long after this, the *Popish Plot* was brought upon the Stage, in which Coleman

was Prime Minister, who being afterwards Executed, and *Sheridan* speaking something in favour of his cause, was apprehended, and after some time was brought on his knees at the Bar of the *House of Commons*, where he had impudence beyond humane shape, to set forth in a flourishing Speech the greatness of his Family, (*viz.*) that he was in the right Line of the Kings of *Ulster*, anciently called O *Sheridan*; that to his Father belonged a vast Estate, which by the misfortune of War (meaning the former Rebellion) he was wrongfully put out of; with abundance of the like impudent falsehoods, and most notorious untruths. Whereas indeed his Father (too honest a man for so base, and so degenerate a Son) was before the late Rebellion in the County of *Cavan*, taken in a poor Boy into a Bishop's House for a Turn-spit; and the Bishop observing the Boy to be of a Docible Temper, and capable of instruction, and finding him educated a *Papist*, charitably put him to School, where he was taught his Grammar, and was found to be so industrious a Proficient in School-learning, as encouraged the good Bishop to Ordain him a Deacon, in which capacity he continued under the Bishop till he died. And when the Rebellion broke out so violently, that few *English* were left in the Country; yet this poor man remained with such as stayed, and read Prayers among them, till all were either Murthered, or had deserted the place. But he being a poor Old Man, and having nothing to remove, continued where he was, the *Irish* suffering him to reside amongst them; but by all their Importunities (notwithstanding their great

great eagerness to make Converts, compassing both Sea and Land, to proselyte any to their Church, could never prevail upon him to go to Mass. This Man had three Sons, which (as well as those turbulent times would admit) he educated Protestants, and upon Oliver's reduction of Ireland, he was so taken with the Character of this poor man, which was faithfully represented to him by the English of the North, that he not only ordered a maintenance for himself, but also for his three Sons, whom he ordered to be maintained in the Collidge near Dublin, where they all improved themselves to an eminent degree of Learning and parts. This is an impartial Account of Thomas Sheridan's Pedigree, whose Sisters, and other Relations, were in *Bridges* and *Kerchiefs*, the Irish Garb for Women. The Author saw them not many years ago in this condition, and knowing this Story of Sheridan, was heightened in his Curiosity of being the more inquisitive after it in the County where his Father was born, and found that he was of the *Sablogues*, a Name which the Irish call *Catchets*. — And none of his Kinred, as the Irish affirm, were ever better. I should not have given the Reader the trouble of this Digression, but that I deemed it not altogether unpleasant to him to represent the unparalleled Impudence of this Man, who could attempt to speak of his high Extraction before the House of Commons, when the meanness of his Original and Descent was so universally known in most parts of the North of Ireland. But to what degrees of extravagancy will not the Confidence of

of an *Irish-man* transport him? And whither will not that audacious Arrogance (with which the Natives of that Kingdom are most plentifully stock'd) carry and invite them? The ridiculous Genealogies which the *Irish* have framed of themselves, as to their *Heroical Ancestry*, Antiquity of their Nation, their eminency for Literature and extraordinary Piety in former Ages, are Fopperies not to be wondered at; when in these days the Author by his own Experience can give an account of several of the *Irish* Gentry, who have laid aside both their former Names, and Relations, and have created new ones to themselves, which they pretend to be derived from a numerous train of Noble Progenitors, though this be publicly known to be a Chimerical and Fictitious Invention.

But to return again to the Earl of *Essex*, (from whence this account of *Sheridon*, has caus'd me to digress) though his politick Carriage in the business of the aforesaid Farmers, discovered a dextrous and prudent Government; yet did it contract upon him the hatred of the Duke of *York*, who from this time set up private designs against him, which the Earl had constant intelligence of; but at last was not able to withstand them, the prejudice rising so high, till the Duke obtained a resolve for his removal from the Government. The way to accomplish this, was to find out a man that would lend the King Money, and the Earl of *Bridlington* was pitched upon. *Talbot* had (by the Relation of a Brother

ther of his Married into that Family) some interest, but was not looked upon as a fit person to break it to the *Earl*; so another was found by the *Earl of Orrery's* means, who had been disoblged by the *Earl of Essex*, and by that way it was pursued. But though the *Earl of Bridlington* might have had a mind to the Government, yet would he part with no Money, and the King's necessities were the great inducement whereby to prevail upon him to remove *Essex*, and *Bridlington* being unwilling to supply 'em, no other pretence could be found out to work on the King.

I was admired by all for what reasons the *Earl of Bridlington* should be thought on, in regard that none but the *Duke's* Party were in the Intrigue. But the *Romish Faction* well understood, that although the *Earl of Bridlington* was not fit to carry on their main Design; yet they knew him governable, and were in hopes to put things upon him, that might bring matters into a leading way for another they had in their Eye, not fit here to be named. But these things missing of their designed effect, they were now at a full stop, though no occasions were omitted of making dayly Objections against the *Earl of Essex*.

The *Papish Conspiracy* (as has been already hinted in discoursing upon *Sheridon*) advanced apace by *Coleman*, and the *Parliament* began now to be apprehensive of the present proceedings, and of the *Alliance with France*, which they utterly disapproved of. The L ——— B ——— was sent in quality of the King's *Embassador to France*,
F and

and Sir *Ellis Leaton*, his Secretary in *Ireland*, accompany'd him; but neither of 'em were judged fit to be trusted with the secret Designs. For at that time there was a Design for the *French* to set up their Demands for the *Irish*, to have the *Articles* made by King *Charles* the Second with the *French* King in their favour, to be performed; and the King of *England* was to admit the *French* to land Men, under pretence of being got by private compact of the *Irish*. The Earl of *Tyrone*, Lord *Brittas*, and others, being to raise Men in *Ireland*, in order to make a Diversion to the putting the *Popish Plot* in force in *England*. But the whole of this was kept private from the King, only so much of it as referred to the *French* King's demanding the Promises, made by him (when in *Exile*) in favour of the *Irish*. The Duke undertook to qualify the King, if any discovery should be made of the *Irish*-intended *Insurrection*; but this was divulged by some of the *Irish*, and the King hardly prevailed with not to believe it. The L ——— B ——— was recall'd from *France*, and sent to *Nimeguen*, and Complaints were made by some Merchants against Sir *Ellis Leaton*, who being questioned before the King and Council, spoke very intemperately, and among other words, said, He wonder'd how these Merchants durst presume to speak any thing against the greatest King in *Europe*, as the *French* King was; for which indecent Expression, he was committed; it being justly accounted great impudence for him to affirm, in the presence of the King, That there was any other King, greater than himself.

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The King and Council finding some cause to believe, that there were Designs of introducing Popery in Ireland, pitch'd upon the Duke of Ormond as the only Pilot for that Kingdom in a Storm; and accordingly he was sent over. The Duke of York did not then think it seasonable to oppose it, though he was conscious 'twas fatal to his Design. But however he wrought so powerfully with the King, That orders were given to raise Men in Ireland, under the Notion of Foreign Service. They were all composed of the Natives of the Kingdom, excepting some Protestant Officers fit to make Catholics of. The Duke of Ormond would give them no Arms, so they were Exercised with Sticks; and in a little time the Plot in England was discovered, and they all disbanded. Upon which a discovery was made by the Irish, of the Popish Conspiracy in Ireland, and it was very remarkable, that in the whole discovery, not one Protestant appeared as an evidence against the Papists. A pregnant instance of the great impartiality and equal demeanour of the English towards the Natives, who altho' they were now presented with various opportunities of destroying those, whom they knew to be their implacable Adversaries; yet declin'd all Informations against them, a practice as peculiar to those of the Protestant Communion, as different from the Indirect Principles, and barbarous proceedings of that of the Church of Rome, as has been but too manifest, in those horrid Perjuries, and notoriously false Accusations, which the Irish have been palpably convinced of, in their daily

1677.

1678.

Impeachments of the *Englilh*, in the *Reign* of the late King *James*, as will appear in the Sequel of this Discourse. But notwithstanding that 'tis so universal a practice of the *Irish* to swear such of the *Englilh* (as they bear prejudice to) out of their Lives and Estates, if possible, or at least so vigorously endeavour it, as to stick at no *Affidavit* how inconsistent soever with truth, or but a rational probability; yet were the *Englilh* more just than to transcribe so base an Example, or to propose that impious Maxim of the *Romish Church*, *Of doing Evil, that Good may come of it*, as a Rule of their Imitation, which the Apostle *St. Paul* has so plainly pronounced *Damnation* unto. And indeed if we descend to an impartial enquiry after the opposite Principles of the Two Churches in this case, we shall no longer wonder at the great integrity of the *Englilh*, nor at that barbarous Violation (in the other Party) of a *Rite* of the greatest *Solemnity*, and most *Sacred Institution*, which all Christians ought to account an *Oath* to be, and which the whole Christian Church (except that lame and corrupt part of it which we call the *Romish*) does, upon its being administered under legal and requisite circumstances, justly reckon as indissoluble. But what if the other *Christian Churches*, which are but a vile Rabble of *Hereticks* and *Schismaticks* (though if dividing Christendom into five parts, they make up more than three) can pretend to no *dispensing* power in this case; yet what cannot the *Vicar of Christ* do in *Cathedra*, who has the *Keys* of Heaven at his *Girdle*, and can lock and unlock as he

he pleases, according to our Saviour's *Commission*, which he will needs have limited to his Person, as his *Vicarial* Prerogative, but unlimited in its *Authority*; *whatsoever sins ye remit, they are remitted*; and *whatsoever sins ye retain, they are retained*. But to leave this despotick power of *Absolution* in the Chair of *Infallibility*, which (God be thanked) we are neither ambitious of, nor do pretend to, it will not be unreasonable to consider, that whatever complaints were made by the *Irish* as to their severe usage in the *Papish Conspiracy* (of which they make many tedious harangues) 'twas plain that if there was any such, 'twas acted by those of their own Party, and such as professed their own *Religion*, who were indeed the fittest Agents for so black an *Intrigue*, there being none of the *English* any way interested in it. Neither can I omit mentioning the great Integrity and Justice of the *Duke of Ormond*, then *Lord Lieutenant*, in his unbyassed and equal management of this Affair. For though prejudice and partiality might have prepossessed some Men, and have served to awaken their resentments against the *Irish* at such a Juncture as this; yet did he carry himself with so single an eye, and observed so steady and even a course, that 'twas difficult to perceive the least defection in him upon either hand: 'tis true indeed the Law had its due course; but this was owing to the *Evidence*, which those of their own Party and *Religion* made against their Associates in the Conspiracy; and therefore if any irregularity was committed, it cannot justly be charged upon the *Duke* or his *Subordinate Ministers*, by whom the whole was

was managed with an equal Moderation and Indifferency.

1678. But I pass from these Reflections upon the Carriage of the Duke of Ormond and the Protestants, to a Discourse of Affairs relating to the Plot in Ireland: upon the discovery whereof, Orders came from England to disarm the Papists; but they received such timely notice of the Design, by their Creatures at Court, that there was not found two hundred Arms in all Ireland, the Irish having a contrivance of concealing their Arms by thrusting them into Bogs, filling the Barrels of their Guns with Butter, which suffers them not to take any harm; and as for the Locks they can easily hide them. The Lord Brittas and others made their Escape for France, but the Earl of Tyrone was taken, and committed to the Gate-house. Sheridan was seized in London, but nothing could be proved against him. Talbot, now Tyrconnel, was confined a Prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, together with his Brother, the Titular Archbishop, where he dyed. The Duke of York went for Flanders; which made the Irish even to despair, and made one of their Lords to declare, with a great Oath, That he believed Jesus Christ was a Protestant, for that nothing they could do did prosper. The Duke of Ormond was extremely solicitous to settle the Militia in Ireland, and ordered their watching equal with the Army. And now notwithstanding the publick fears of the Popish Conspiracy in England and Ireland; yet was the English Interest in Ireland of greater value than ever, grounded

grounded upon a general Opinion of the *English*, that the Plots of the *Irish* were now so fully unravell'd, that the King would extend no favour to them for the future.

The Duke of *Tork* goes for *Scotland*, and with him the *Second Coleman*, *Thomas Sheridan*, who still profess'd himself a *Protestant*, though his Actions at this time gave a sufficient Demonstration to the contrary: For from *Scotland* he writ over private Encouragements to the *Papish* Party in *Ireland*, and put them in some hopes. But the *English* were not apprehensive of any danger, improving their Estates, and the Trade of the Kingdom more than ever, and never esteeming themselves more happy than at this juncture, as being quietly seated under the Care and Influence of the Duke of *Ormond's* Government, who now endeavours to have a Parliament called in *Ireland*, and succeeded so far as to obtain a Grant; in pursuance whereof a Bill drawn by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, is sent over to the King: but the Duke of *Tork's* interest interceding, obstructed any farther Progress, who came with all expedition from *Scotland* to put a stop to that design; which the *Irish* were so confident of before it was done, that they stuck not to affirm that they were well assured there would be no Parliament whilst King *Charles* lived, and would frequently discourse with that liberty and boldness, as if the Duke of *Tork* had been actually Seated in the Throne, upon a Presumption that he would arrive speedily to it.

1683.

Ireland had now continued for two or three years in great Tranquillity and Quiet, when upon a suddain a Stratagem was set on foot, lain as deep as Hell, and yet seemingly for the advantage of the *English*, which take as follows: In the Settlement of *Ireland*, there were overplus and concealed Lands, said to be in the possession of divers of the *English*, but in truth much more in that of the *Irish*. Now to insure the Titles of the *English* from any future Discoveries (as was pretended) a Court of Grace was to be erected, where all that would, had the opportunity of putting in their *Claims*: and upon proving their possession, and compounding with the Commissioners for payment of such a sum, as they thought fit to impose on them; they were to pass new Patents. It was also given out, that it was safe for all new Interests, to pass that Court, and that it would strengthen their Titles. This Policy had its intended effect, for many persons came in, and considerable Sums of Money were paid. But under what plausible pretext soever this Court was set up, 'twas soon perceived as a snare to the *English*: For its design was to make a narrow inspection into all Mens Titles, and thereby to discover what advantage might be derived from it. For by the Act of Settlement, all the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* were only invested in the King, as a *Royal Trustee*, for the use of the Soldiers and Adventurers, and could be no way disposed of, but according to the intent of that Act. Now whereas there were several *Irish* out of their Lands decreed them by the Act for want of Reprisals;

prifals; the King's Patent could not give any Land away, but in purfuaunce to the intent of the Act. By which it appears, that this Court was erected to prepare Pretences for the *Irish*, when opportunity should invite; and though all this was negotiated through the Duke's Interest: yet none of that party appeared in it, but the whole of it was tranfacted by the Dutcheffs of *Portsmouth*, who had the Money got by Fines out of it.

Because there will be occafion in the farther difcovery of this Treachery, to name a principal Actor in the Cataftrophe of *Ireland*, I fhall now nominate him that was the Abettor and Contriver of this mifchief, 'twas one *W.* who sometime before bought a Judge's place in the Exchequer for Eight Hundred Pounds. This Judge was found a fit Tool to make ufe of, and being a Cunning *ambo-dexter* formed this Intrigue, which had proved fatal to the *Protestant* Interest of *Ireland*, if affairs had fucceeded in the fame Current they had now put them. But I muft not forget to add, that to make this poifon go down the more eafie, the Pill was gilded over: Moft of the Judges were made Commiffioners, and had part of the Fines; the *Lawyers* and *Attorneys* got Money by the Court: fo that confequently all that were capable of underftanding the Cheat, were intereffed as Parties in the Intrigue, and by this means fome of the *Lawyers* and *Attorneys* purchafed Eftates, to the ruine of the former Poffeffors. And 'tis to be obferved, that in the feveral Defigns of the *Papifts*, *Protestants* were the Tools, whereby they acted, by which they appeared to have nothing of *Catholick* in them.

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And now to force men into this Tonnel, another Oppression was impos'd upon the Subject, and that was, that no man should pass Patent for *Fairs, Markets, Mannors, &c.* without passing his Estate through this Court: whereas by the Act of Settlement all persons had liberty for the improvement of the Countrey, to pass Patent for them, so that they were not within three Miles of one another.

Here you may perceive a most black design speciously represented as a fit occasion to lay hold on, whereby to corroborate the *English* Interest, though in truth nothing could more effectually weaken the *Protestants* Titles to their Estates, and strengthen or improve those of the *Irish*; and this not only managed, but at first set up by a *Protestant*. And indeed this gave a more plausible colour to it, and made it the more easily gain belief with the *English*, that the true Reasons of its erection, were the same with those that were pretended, because first advanced by one of their own Party: A sad thing indeed, that *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, should by base and unworthy Compliances become such Servile Instruments to the advancement of the *Popish* Cause! A Calamity which as it had made some steps before, so did it improve to an infinite Progress, when the late King *James* was in possession of the Throne. In which time, too many men, who were reputed *Protestants*, through a mean, and pusillanimous Disposition, were not seldom Co-adjutors with the *Papists* in such violent Proceedings,

ceedings, as carried a direct opposition to the Laws, and their Religion.

But to proceed where I left off: The Duke of Ormond, perceiving by the tendency of these Affairs, that the *Romish* design was agitated with greater earnestness than ever, with great difficulty obtains leave to go for *England*, and pursuant to that comes over, leaving his Son, the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy. Upon his Arrival at Court, he a second time attempts a Parliament, but ineffectually; upon which disappointment he returns again for *Ireland*, with an heavy heart, as he himself declared to a Great Man of that Kingdom. He had Instructions to Regiment the Army, and some other things that were Preparatives to what followed soon after. But now the Fatal Stroke was come, the Death of the King, a Mystery not to be inquired into, though one can hardly omit remarking that the *Irish* *Papists* could for some time before fix upon the utmost Period of that Reign, and the Duke was sent for in haste from *Scotland* three years before, without any apparent reason for it; besides that, the King's permission was obtained with some difficulty.

From this time we may Commence the Date of the *Irish* greatness: Fate now smil'd upon 'em, and that which they had long expected with so much impatience and importunity, which had cost them so much pains, and had involved them in such great Perplexities: That which had exposed them to so many dangers, and been so frequently

quently blasted with cross Accidents and various Disappointments, was now fallen into their Lap. Now their long-look'd for day was come, and their Game which had been play'd with so much difficulty and loss, did now assure them of better success. These Apprehensions so transported them with such pleasant Raptures, as were eminently visible in all their actions, especially in Publick Days of Rejoycing, as the day of the King's Proclaiming that of his Coronation, the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*; and the like: in all which they demonstrated the most extravagant Symptoms of a Superlative Joy, which they express'd in making of Bonfires, Bearing of Drums, playing upon the Bag-pipes, and other Musical Instruments, in Drinking, and Serenading in the night time, forcing the *English* out of their Beds, and breaking open their Doors, and drinking Confusion to the Kings Enemies upon their Knees: by which 'twas plain that they understood the *Protestants*. And all these unlawful Revellings oftentimes continued for two or three Nights and Days without intermission, wherein such of the *English* as refus'd to joyn with them to that extravagant height, were accounted Persons disaffected to the Government, called *Fanatick* and *Oliverian Dogs*, with the like Expressions of Calumny and Reproach. But this was not all; the most judicious of them, were now so animated in their hopes, that 'twas impossible for them to bear them any longer with moderation, or to contain themselves from the most violent Outrages, and from instigating the Rabble to steal from, and rob the *English*,

English, which at first was looked upon as the most Expeditious Contrivance, whereby to expel them the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ormond* foresaw what was now past remedy, and told a Friend of his, that nothing could now preserve the *English* but a precipitateness of the *Irish*: For (said he) *let my Countrey men alone, and they will spoil their own business*: And so indeed they had in any time but this, when it might be said according to our Saviour's Prediction, *That the time was come, when they that destroyed the Protestants, thought they did God service.*

King *James* and his former (but now more especial) Favourites the *Irish*, were now equally furious in their course, and seemed to contend (the one in his Commands, the other in their forward Obedience) which should exceed in their joynt design of extirpating Heresie. The Duke of *Ormond* was called over, but before his departure, laboured with an Indefatigable diligence, to establish matters on such a foundation, so as that it might not be easie for them to create a present change, without a manifest violation and infringement of the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom. The new Hospital, a stately Fabrick near *Dublin*, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he foresaw) be made a Nest for Hornets, which to prevent, as well as possible, he sate several days with the Council and Judges in private, in the Castle, and there made all the provision that could be for it, against the imminent storm. One remarkable Passage I must not omit to mention, which demonstrates the great spirit of that

1684.

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excellent person. At the aforesaid Hospital he appointed a Dinner for all the Officers of the Hospital, and the Officers of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glass of Wine in his hand, bid them fill it to the brim, then stood up and called to all the Company. Look here, Gentlemen, they say at Court, I am now become an Old Doating Fool; you see my hand doth not shake, nor does my heart fail, nor doubt but I will make some of them see their Mistake; and so drank the Kings Health: But upon his Arrival at Court found that King *James's* Bigotted Opinion would carry him to the most violent actions; a dismal apprehension whereof (as is believed) at length broke his heart; for though he was of a great Age, yet was he of such health of Body, and cheerfulness of mind, that in course of nature he might have lived Twenty Years longer, as his Mother did: 'Twas plain, that the *Irish* could fasten no Calumnies upon him, when the first thing they reproached him with, was Cheating the Army in building the Hospital, and that *Robinson* the Architect had enriched himself by it: when indeed not to lessen any thing of his due Character, *Robinson* shewed the parts of an Excellent Artist in the Contrivance, and of an Honest Man in the Charge, as men of Value and Experience in Building affirm.

1685.

Upon the Duke of *Ormond's* removal, the Government was put into the hands of the Lord *Primate*, and the Lord *Granard*, in the Quality of Lords Justices. The *Irish* fell immediately to their

their old trade of making Plots, but with this difference, That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themselves, they now placed them upon the *English*, which they daily impeached of designs against the King and the Government: The *Grandeers* had the confidence to appear in Vindication of such Evidence as was given against the *English*, (though it was altogether as unreasonable as untrue) and press'd the Lords Justices for Orders of Council to empower *Irish Papists*, and Mongrel *Protestants* to examine them, and to commit (if they saw cause) without Bail, any person impeached. This Arbitrary Power, the Lords Justices, and Council, would not agree to; yet were so hector'd and insulted upon by them, that they issued out Orders of Council to examine and commit, but always they were directed to *Protestants*, which wearied the *Irish* of that Stratagem.

One thing has been omitted, which was, that before the Duke of *Ormond* left the Government, an Order came for regulating the Council, which he left for the Justices to do, and most of the *English* (that were active) of the Privy Council were turned out, but as yet no *Irish Papists* put in. The *Irish* Lords and Gentry repaired in great numbers to *Dublin*, and as well Gentry as Commonalty of the Natives in all places reproached the *Protestants* and their Religion, with all the Calumnies and Impious Reflections, that the rankest Satyrists could invent. At *Lestip* seven Miles from *Dublin*, the Lord *Clanriccard*, Sir *Valentine Browne* (now created a Viscount by the late King *James*) Colonel *Moore*, and some others
upon

upon their Knees, drank Confusion to all *Protestants* and their Religion. This was taken notice of, and the wiser sort of their Party blamed these Men for their forwardness, as judging it could not be safe to go on so fast; but to stifle the noise of it, such as were Eye-witnesses of the Fact, and threatened for not Pledging the Health, were seized with Warrants, and menac'd with having their Throats cut, and the like terrifying Arts, if they denied not the thing. Sir *Standish Harston* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was threatened to be eased of his Employment, if he took not off his Son-in-Law who reported the matter.

These daily repeated Insolences of the *Irish* made the Lords Justices weary of their Government; and one of them (the Lord *Granard*) writ to *England* to be dismiss'd. But in a Consult of the *Papists*, it was resolved, to represent him as a Man fit to be kept in; for that his interest was very prevalent in the North among the *Scots*, and had for many years in King *Charles's* Reign been a Pensioner, and had Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum* given him to distribute among the *Presbyterian Clergy*; of which Perswasion his Lady was. For the aforesaid Considerations, and besides, that he was a Popular Man in the Army, 'twas judged convenient to retain him in the Government: For which end King *James* writ him a Letter with his own hand, with great Promises, and assurance that nothing should be acted prejudicial to the *Protestant* Interest, which at that time this Lord was accounted to be zealous for, however he has now prevaricated.

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1685.

Monmouth's Rebellion soon broke out, and some were apt to believe that *Granard* was in suspense who to declare for; but the Lord *Primate* was a person of firm, and inviolable Loyalty, and his unalterable steadiness hindered the other from deserting. These two persons by their united Interests, one for the Church, the other for the Dissenters, kept things in a quiet posture in *Ireland*, and were so Casol'd by King *James*, as made them not only of opinion, but perswaded others to be so too, that the King would never expose himself to the hazard of preferring *Papists* in that Kingdom, where the *English* and *Scots* were so unanimous against 'em: And besides that, they were so well furnished with Arms, as having the Arms of the *Whistia* (so lately settled) in their hands: But the *Papish* Party grew bold and insolent, and every day afforded but too convincing occasions of new fears to the *Protestants*.

Monmouth's Discomfure gave liberty to the *Irish* (more than ever) to contrive Plots, and to fasten them upon the *Protestants*, which put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment; for the *Irish* pretended, that the *Protestants* assembled together in great numbers in the night: and to gain the more credit to these Hellish Inventions, the Vulgar *Irish* were instructed to leave their Houses, and to hide every Night in their Bogs, upon a pretence of fear that the *English* would come in the Night and cut their Throats; a Practice as notorious in the Church of *Rome*, as unheard of among *Protestants*, and which there could not

be the least Ground or Foundation for, at this juncture. For besides that in most parts of the Kingdom the *Irish* were infinitely more numerous than the *English*; nay, in some an hundred Families for one, (I suppose I speak much short of the true account) which shewed the impossibility of putting any such thing in execution, had it been ever intended, and must needs be accounted an absurd and ridiculous contrivance to any man of common sense. So were the *Irish* (though conscious to themselves of their own Bloody Actions in the former Rebellion) well enough assured that the *English* never imagined, much less would attempt any such thing. They were convinced as well by their Practices (which had been but too favourable and indulgent to the Natives in the former Reign) as by the Principles of their Religion, that they were not men of Blood; nay, and would frequently confess, that they were never known to be addicted to Cruelty and Murther, to Barbarous Massacres, and Inhumane Assassinations, which they could not excuse some of themselves from. And indeed whoever considers the difference betwixt the *Reformed* and *Romish Church* in this respect, must needs acknowledge a most strange opposition betwixt them. To see the Ancient Practices of the *Heathen Emperors*, so drawn to the life, nay, out-done by the present *Romish Faction*, is to some a Demonstration that the Persecuting Spirit, which reigned with so much predominancy in the Infant days of Christianity, is now strongly revived in this degenerate Church, which is apparently in this, and other

other Principles, upon her Retrograde motion to Ancient Gentilism. And upon the other hand, whoever considers that Spirit of Peace and Meekness, of Mercifulness and an Universal Charity, which governs with so absolute an Empire in the minds of those who have duly embraced our Profession, must needs own, That our *English* carries that true Badge and Characteristick Evidence of Christianity, for which the Primitive Church was justly accounted so illustrious. But not to dwell any longer upon this Reflection, with what malice and injustice soever the *English* were represented as Night-Walkers, and designing to murder the *Irish*, yet were Examinations of these Impeachments taken by Justices of the Peace, calculated for the purpose; and these were sent to the Lords Justices and Council: and although the Accusations were notoriously false, and irrational (as has been already shewn) yet for not being prosecuted with that open partiality and rigour, which these envious, implacable Spirits were impatient for, Complaints were made to the King by the *Irish*, and he to gratifie their malice, sent private instructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Justices, about this affair: Upon which a Proclamation was issued forth for bidding all Night-Meetings, &c. though the Lords Justices and Council well knew there was no such thing. This Artifice of the *Irish*, was, but in order to make way for greater mischief, by preparing Evidences to bring the most considerable of the *English* into Plots.

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Their first onset was with one *Moore* of *Clonmel*, who was Indicted for *High-Treason* before *Sir John Mead* in the Palatinate of *Tipperary*. This *Moore* was a person of a vast Estate, which made them bend their whole force against him. Now to countenance the design, *Tyrconnel*, and *Justin Mac Carthy*, came to *Clonmel* to the Trial, and in the Publick Court assum'd to reproach the Judge and the Jury; *Mac Carthy* calling him *Fanatick*, and he and *Talbot* aspersing him and the Duke of *Ormonde* for employing such a *Rogue*, with other Calumnies, in such Language as was only fit for such Blood-hounds to express. Notwithstanding *Moore* and some others that were impeached, were acquitted. But such an extravagantly partial account was sent over to the Court of that action, that the King questioned the Duke of *Ormonde*, how he came to employ such a *Fanatick*; to which the Duke replied, he did it in duty to his Majesty, as believing he could not entrust a better man than one of his Majesties Servants, for so he was when Duke of *Tork*, being then his Attorney General in *Ireland*.

1685.

Tyrconnel then began to model the Army, but the introductory part first to be performed, was to get in all the Arms from the *Protestants*, and this design was varnished over in as fair Colours as the Ground would bear. But however its direct tendency was plainly obvious and visible to every Eye. The King and Council writ over to the Lords Justices and Council, that there was reason to believe that the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of that spreading Contagion,

gion, as to infect many, and delude more. It was not therefore safe for the Kingdom to have the Arms of the Militia dispersed abroad, but they would be in a greater readiness for the Militia, and their own defence, to have them deposited in the several Stores of each County: Upon which instructions a Proclamation issued forth, and to make it take the better effect, the Lord *Primate* first began with the City of *Dublin*, and sending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, makes an Elegant Speech to them, magnifying their unshaken Loyalty in the worst of times; and withal adding, that their ready Obedience and prevalent example would be of great service to the King and Kingdom: And in the close of his Speech tells them, that they expected their compliance in bringing in their Arms, which should be always ready for their Service. The City were sensible of their condition, but knew likewise, that 'twas to no purpose to dispute as to their obedience, so brought in their Arms. The Countrey pursu'd this Precedent, and to render the design more effectual, the *Irish* gave out, That if any Arms were reserved in the *Protestants* hands, such would be interpreted as persons disaffected to the King and Government, and that it would be no excuse to say they were their own Arms, and not belonging to the Militia. This frightened many, and operated so powerfully, that abundance delivered in their Arms bought with their own money.

The *Protestants* being thus disarmed, *Tyrconnel* proceeds to destroying the Army, and first begins with the Officers in the same method, which

which was designed immediately before the Death of the King, which was to displace all Officers that had been in the Parliament, or *Oliver's Army*, as also the Sons of any such. This the Duke of *Ormond* had directions to proceed in when he came last from *England*; but he made no Progress in it, under pretence of gaining time to find them out, for he foresaw it was to make room for *Papists*.

Tyrconnel (for so we must call him for the future) proceeds in his design, and after turning out a great part of the Officers, returns for *England*, and carries along with him one *Neagle* a Cunning *Irish* Lawyer, since Knighted by him: *Neagle's* Business at *London* was to be engaged in their secret Consults; for he was a man of great parts, educated among the *Jesuits*, and consequently very inveterate. Upon their Arrival at *London*, 'twas some time e'er *Neagle* could gain admittance to kiss the King's hand, but was constantly with *Father Petre*, and the rest of that Furious Cabal. The Queen was altogether for their Counsels, but the King was not so forwardly inclined, being every day set upon by all his *Popish Lords*, not to proceed too fast, in the revolution of *Ireland*, for that would spoil the general interest of the *Catholicks*; and upon the Lord *Bellefils*, *Powis*, and some others of that Faction understanding that *Neagle* was come over, they were so transported with Rage, that they would have him immediately sent out of *London*: But whatever mischiefs he effected in private, his Publick Transactions were of no great prejudice to the *Protestants*. However to compleat

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in Retirement, what he durst not attempt at Court, and upon the Publick Stage, 'twas agreed in Council, that he should set forth by way of a Letter to a Friend, the great Oppression and Injustice of the *Act of Settlement*, which he did under the pretence of a two hours waking in a Night at *Coventry*, but was indeed two Weeks labour in *London*. In this Letter he ran so high in his *Invectives* against King *Charles* the Second, (which nothing but a meer Tyger, or Savage as himself would have done) that he durst not own it to be his, but in *Ireland* gave out, that he would Arrest any Man in an Action of *Ten Thousand Pound*, who should father it upon him. But now a Consult was held (the design of *Tyrconnel's* coming over) and the Debate variously canvass'd as to a fit Person to send over for *Ireland*, in quality of Lord Lieutenant. *Tyrconnel* was mentioned with some tenderness, as being a person very Obnoxious to the *English*, and therefore 'twas not thought seasonable (till matters were come to a greater Maturity) to bring him upon the Stage. The Lord *Bellasis* was proposed, but that was too bare fac'd; besides, he was infirm, at least to carry on their design with success, and not altogether to disgust the *English*, 'twas resolv'd that *Tyrconnel* should return Lieutenant General of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Lieutenant. In the mean time the *Irish Papists* in all parts of the Kingdom, proceeded in their former Stratagems of Impeaching the *Protestants* for Plots, &c. but these were generally so ridiculously contrived, and made up of such Palpable Contradictions, and Incongruities,

ties, that they served only to demonstrate the *Protestants* innocency, and the Horrid Perjuries, and Implacable Invetoracy of the Informers: But seeing that these Impeachments were so unskilfully managed (which yet were repeated upon every pretended occasion of disgust they had to an *English-man*) as to miss of their Wicked and Diabolical intent; then they applied themselves to other Courses; many went out *Tories*, and robb'd upon the High-way, broke up Houses, stole Cattle, killed them in the Field, and cut out the Tongues of Sheep alive, with other innumerable Barbarities, all acted upon the *English*, which were so frightened and discouraged with these Tragedies, that thousands deserted the Kingdom, and came for *England* under as great Fears and Jealousies, as if there had been an open Rebellion, and Five Hundred together departed the Kingdom, to Transport themselves to *Virginia, Carolina, Pensilvania, West-Indies, and New England.*

This was extream grateful to the *Irish*, who set all their Engines at work, so to discourage and discourage the *Protestants*, as to force them to leave the Kingdom. *Tyrconnel* now drives with greater fury than before, not only displacing the Officers of the Army, but also turning out the Private Soldiers, and to both, prefers which of the *Irish* he thought fit; his Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary, none daring to question him; for he brought over Blank Commissions signed by the King, for such as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted

in a most Insulting Barbarous manner, causing poor Men that had no Cloaths on their Backs, but Red Coats, to be stript to their Shirts, and so turned off; and of all this he himself was an Inhumane Spectator: He seiz'd the Horses of some Officers and Troopers, giving Notes that amounted not to a fourth proportion of their just Values; to others he gave nothing but ill words, and vile reproaches. In the midst of this Tragical Scene the Earl of *Clarendon* comes upon the Stage in the Capacity of Lord Lieutenant; his Relation to the King added to the violent Proceedings then in *Ireland*, so vigorously drove on by the *Popish* Party, afforded but little hopes of any redress of these Evils to the Drooping Spirits of the *Protestants*, who were by this time entered into a very Desponding and Dejected Condition.

But these Discouragements of the *English* were alleviated in a very high measure, if not changed into Ecstasies, and perfect Raptures of Joy, when perceiving the Lord Lieutenant acting as a person of inviolable Integrity to the *Protestants*, and the *English* Interest, they looked upon him as a fit Man to stem the Torrent of the *Popish* Faction, which had been so violent and impetuous: and indeed his very first action gave no small proof of it, which was to cherish and revive the broken hearts of the *Protestants*, with those great Assurances his Master had given him of protecting the *Protestant* Interest and Religion, which he good man could not disbelieve. In pursuance of this, he issued out Proclamations for bringing in of *Torys*, and propos'd Rewards to such as
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should apprehend them: He rid a Progress round the chiefest parts of the Kingdom, to give life to the *English*; but at the same time the Grandees of the *Irish* proceeded in their design, animating their Vassals, with hopes that he should soon be removed; the *Irish* composing Barbarous Songs in praise of *Tyrconnel*, and that his Heroick hand should destroy the *English* Church; with Bloody and Inhumane Expressions, very ungrateful to a Christian Bar.

These restless Endeavours of the *Papists* made the Earl of *Clarendon* find things very uneasy; whereunto one Remarkable Passage not a little contributed, which was reported to be thus: That upon a *Sunday* Morning going to Church, he perceived an *Irish* Officer he never saw before, Commanding his Guard of Battle-Axes that attended his Person, which exceedingly surprized him: whereupon he made a stop, demanding who he was, and who put him there? The *Irish-man* (for they are naturally Pusillanimous and fearful) was as much frightened, as the Lord Lieutenant was disturbed; but with some difficulty, and in broken Expressions, occasioned by fear, told his Excellency, he was a Captain put in by the Lord *Tyrconnel*. His Excellency demanded of him When? he replied, That Morning: His Excellency bid 'em call the former Captain, and dismiss this of *Tyrconnel's*. The next day the Lord Lieutenant sent for *Tyrconnel*, and questioned him for this Action, who replied, He did nothing but by the King's Orders; to which the Lord Lieutenant returned answer, That whilst His Majesty intrusted him with the Government,
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he would not be disposed by his Lieutenant General. Complaints on both hands were made to the King, and so ended.

Tyrconnel having compleated his design in modelling the Army, goes for *England*, and there consults with his Party to obtain the Government of *Ireland*. The King, Queen, and Father *Petres* were for him; but the whole Council of *Papists* oppos'd it, still urging how unacceptable he was to the *English*; others therefore were named in private by that *Popish* Party: But all the while the *Protestants* side were wholly ignorant of any design to remove the Earl of *Clarendon*, not questioning but that he stood upon a firm Foundation, (namely) the Kings late assurance to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Treasurer, who was seemingly Prime Minister of State, but not thought fit to be confided in, as to those dark Secrets of the *Catholick* Designs.

About this time there was a general meeting at the *Savoy* before Father *Petres*, of the chief *Roman Catholicks* of *England*, in order to consult what Methods were fittest to be pursued for the promotion of the *Catholick* Cause. The *Papists* were universally afraid of the King's Incapacity, or else unwillingness of exposing himself to the hazard of securing it in his Reign. They were sensible that he advanced considerably in Age; besides, they were not ignorant of what almost insuperable difficulties they had to contend with, before they could bring it to any ripeness: Wherefore upon these Considerations, (carefully weighing and ballancing every Circumstance) some were for moving the King to procure

cure an Act of Parliament for the security of their Estates, and only liberty for Priests in their own private Houses, and to be exempted from all Employments. This *Father Petres* Anathematized as Terrestrial, and founded upon too anxious a Sollicitude for the preservation of their Secular Interests; but if they would pursue his measures, he doubted not to see the Holy Church triumphant in *England*: And indeed his Politicks have taken, but in a quite different manner than he expected; for (God be praised) a Church triumphs in *England*, as much superior to his in Holiness, as the means of its preservation have been in justice, to his, which were intended for its destruction. Others of the *Papists* were for addressing the King to have liberty (now that they might do it) to sell their Estates, and that his Majesty would intercede with the *French* King to provide for them in his Dominions. After several Debates, it was at last agreed upon to lay both Proposals before the King, and some of the number to attend his Majesty with them, which was accordingly done; to which the King's return was, *That he had before their Desires came to him, often thought of them, and had (as he believed) provided a sure Sanctuary, and Retreat for them in Ireland, if all those endeavours should be blasted in England, which he had made for their security, and of whose success he had not yet reason to despair.* This Encouragement to the *Papists* in *England*, was attended with the most Zealous Expressions, and *Catholick* Assurances of his Ardent Love to the Holy Church, which he said he had been a

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Martyr for. Thus we see how the Bigottry of this unhappy Prince, transported him beyond all bounds, and carry'd him to such Extravagancies in Government, as the moderate of the *English Papists* themselves thought to be extream hazardous and insecure; and would all of them have been content with a private exercise of their Religion, as thinking it abundantly more safe, rather than endanger the losing their Estates and Fortunes, (which they almost look'd upon as inevitable) if such violent extream courses were followed.

But alas these self-preserving, and the furious Principles of the Jesuits had no Congruity; and the King was too much a Creature of the last, to attend to any but their Counsels. He said he was resolved to die a Martyr, rather than not advance the *Catholick Cause*. He had entered himself into the Order of the Jesuits, and was become a Lay-Brother of that Society; and so in consequence to his Profession, must needs look upon it as meritorious to extirpate and destroy Heresie. He was told that this would be a most glorious action; and doubtless would be Canonized for it. To reduce three Kingdoms to an entire obedience to the Holy See, which had Apostatized so long, and been the Nursery of so many Damned Hereticks, who by their *Heterodox* Doctrines had created so much disturbance to the peace of the most Holy Catholick Church, was doubtless the greatest action on this side Heaven, and deserved no less than that for its reward. No time, nor story, could parallel this Heroical Atchievement, which would be com-
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memorated to Eternal Ages. This would be a Work of Supererogation indeed, which would not only convey him to Heaven, without touching at Purgatory; but also lay up such an infinite over-plus of merits, as being deposited in the hands of the Church, and frugally applyed, would not only preserve thousands of others from these Flames, but waite them immediately into *Abraham's* Bosom. These or the like we may suppose to have been the constant suggestions of the Jesuits, which as they indeavoured to infill into the Kings mind, with Tongues as smooth as Oyl, and with the most prevailing Flatteries, and Artificial Insinuations; so on the other hand, did he as greedily imbibe these Poisonous Doctrines, as they could infuse them, and eagerly swallow'd the Bait, when all the while the Hook lay conceal'd, and he so far intangled, till 'twas too late to discover it. And now how can we suppose that a Prince thus wholly at the Devotion of the Jesuits, swayed altogether by their Councils, and upon every occasion consulting them as so many Oracles, should resist the voice of these Charmers, who Charmed so wisely in his byass'd opinion. These *Syrrens* kept a very harmonious Consort, which they exactly tuned to the Key and accent of this Votary's fanciful Genius: every stroke sounded so melodious in his Ear, as made him not consider that this pleasant Musick presaged a dangerous Ship-wrack to himself and his Party, as we find it afterwards proved.

But

But to go on in my former Discourse: After the aforesaid Encouragements given by the King to the *English Papists*, to allay their fears, fresh Consults were set on foot, relating to the Government of *Ireland*. This by accident the Lord Treasurer received some account of, which he immediately acquainted the King with, who absolutely denys, that there was any intention of changing the Chief Governour; but on the contrary assured him of his great satisfaction with the Lord Lieutenant there. Within a few days the Lord Treasurer received from his Brother the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the same Intimations, which he had informed the King of; and upon which he again accosts his Majesty, who as positively disowns the whole matter as he had done before, and to remove the Jealousies of the Lord Lieutenant, writes (for his greater satisfaction) a Letter to him, as was said, with his own hand, assuring him there was yet no thoughts, and he believed never would be in him (whilst both liv'd) to remove him from the Government of *Ireland*; notwithstanding which the *Papists* in *Ireland*, confidently affirmed, that the day before the King writ the Letter, he had given assurance to *Father Petres*, That *Tyrconnel* should be Lord Lieutenant; but 'tis certain that no other Creature but the Queen was privy to this, no not *Tyrconnel* himself, for he could not keep a Secret.

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'Twas at the same time also resolved to put the Lord Treasurer and *Sunderland* (Principal Secretary) to the Test, as to what they would do in compliance to the *Catholick* Cause; it not being at all adviseable to cherish Serpents in their Bosoms that might disembogue their venom upon every inviting Revolution. The King undertook the management of this Affair, and made his first Onset on *Sunderland*, for he was observed to be most docile, as appeared already, by his submissive bowing and cringing to the Altar. What the Tenour of that Discourse was, which the King had with him, is not yet known; but however *Sunderland's* Obedience was extreamly magnify'd and approved of in the Conclave; and *Father Petres* at a meeting with the Jesuits, gave a good account of this Negotiation with *Sunderland*; adding that 'twas necessary for him as yet to appear a *Protestant* for Important Reasons of State.

Upon meeting with this success, the King descends to an attempt upon the Treasurer, whom he endeavours to manage with good words and gentle arts of Perswasion. For he was haughty, as knowing that his signal Services might reasonably entitle him to considerable Favours from the King: And therefore upon this account must be amicably dealt with, and gently stroak'd into humour: which the King strove to perform with all those Specious Arts and Policies dictated to him by his Holy Council. And the more to prevail upon him, he urged to him, that *Sunderland*, a Wife and Religious Man, though he was
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knowing in his Religion, yet refused not to admit of a Conference with those that were Learned, and desired him to do the same. The effect of this Negotiation became so publick, that 'twill be unnecessary to mention it here: but *Sunderland*, like an easie and tractable Child, though fed at first with Milk, came at last to digest strong Meat, by arriving every day more and more to maturity in the Faith; and though still a *Protestant*, yet went every day with the King to Mass, publicly kneeling before the Altar, and praying with *Naaman*, That God would forgive his Servant in that thing.

But to come to the Lord Treasurer: No work of grace would take effect with this obstinate Impugner of the Faith; and which rendered him a greater Infidel, was, that the King could not prevail so much upon him as to obtain his silence, or a desire from him, to have time to consider of it, but turns an open Heretick: upon which one of the Fathers said, He must be Anathematized, and that the King could never prosper whilst such an Heretick was near him.

Before it was publick in *London*, the Priests of *Ireland* gave out that the white Staff was broke, and at that time by way of prediction told all that soon after came to pass.

It was now become the publick discourse, That the two Brothers must down, and then the King in Council pretended (though he had before resolved) to ask their advice, who was fit to be placed in the Government of *Ireland*. Several

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persons were proposed, but none approved of : After that the inclination of the Council had been sufficiently sifted, by offering of divers, the King again brings on *Tyrconnel* ; which was withstood by all but S ———, and in opposition to which the *Popish* Party contended vigorously.

P ——— (notwithstanding that they knew him to be both a C ——— and a F ———, as the King in Passion one day told him he was; yet however) was considered as a Person whose moderate carriage had entitled him to a reasonable good Character among the *Protestants*; and therefore the fittest to be placed in this station, the better to amuse them. This was chiefly insisted upon by them, and he was strongly argued for upon this account. *Powis* was naturally covetous, and the Government of *Ireland*, a Post of great profit : wherefore his Friends advis'd him to agree with *Sunderland*, and do as the L. B. ——— did with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, become Tenant for it; in order whereunto *Powis* comes to terms, and agrees for Four Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the bottom of the design was, *Sunderland* never forsook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board. Some conjectured, that he acquainted the King of his Bargain with *Powis*; and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the same. For 'tis certain *Tyrconnel* (who was of no great Conduct) would swear he got not so much by the Government, as served to maintain him, notwithstanding that it was worth to him Eighteen Thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

Sunderland

Sunderland was become so intimate a Favourite, that nothing could be got at Court but by his interest; and when the King was told he got all the Money of the Court, he replied he deserved it. Nay, his Interest was at last become so remarkable; that the King himself would ask when any grant was given, if they had spoke with *Sunderland*.

The *Irish* were still marvelously impatient for their Dagon; and at last *Tyrconnel* obtains the Government, notwithstanding all opposition. The confirmation of this dismal News reaching the Ears of the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, struck like a Thunderbolt: Perhaps no Age or Story can parallel so dreadful a Catastrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the day of Doom was come; every one lamenting the dreadfulness of their horrible condition, and almost all that could (by any means) deserted the Kingdom, if they had but money to discharge their Passage; a demonstration of this were those infinite numbers of Families, which flocked over from *Dublin* to the *Isle of Man*, and other places. Indeed I cannot recal to mind the great Consternation, the dismal Apprehensions, and Panick Fears, which possess'd the hearts of all *Protestants* at this juncture, without reviving (like *Æneas* his recollection of the *Trojan* Miseries to the *Carthaginian* Queen) those deep impressions of sorrow, those *Infandas* — *dolores*, under which I was then almost sunk, and overwhelmed.

Now every thing discovered a gloomy and Melancholy prospect, and seemed to be attended with so many Discouragements, that many that had Patentee Employments, obtained Licence from the Lord Lieutenant under the Broad-Seal, to come away; and all that lay in his Excellency's power, for the help and assistance of the *Protestants*, he zealously performed. It was interpreted by many as a signal Act of Providence propitious to the *English*, that the Winds continued for some time contrary, after that this furious Zealot for the Cause (as impatient as a Wild Bull in a Net) was come to the Sea-side, which disappointment did not a little discompose him, whose prejudice and ambition equally inspired him with eagerness to supplant his Predecessor, whom he had looked upon as his Corrivall in the Government. This favourable delay was religiously respected by many as a certain warning, or admonition from God to his people to fly from those heavy Judgments, which had been long imminent, but now in an actual readiness to descend upon that Poor Distressed Kingdom.

But he whose Arrival was dreaded every moment, as the most fatal misery that could fall upon the Nation; at last (after being thus retarded) to the unspeakable terrour of the *Protestants*, Landed at *Dublin*. And the Lord *Glasgow* (who had a particular favour conferred upon him to continue for one Week in the Government after *Tyrconnel's* Landing) at his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin's* Palace, resigned the Sword to *Tyrconnel* with an admirable Speech to him,

him, setting forth his exact observance of the Commands of the King his Master, and faithful discharging of that great trust, which had been committed to him; and concluding with his Impartial Administration of Justice to all Parties, in these, or the like words addressed to *Tyrconnel*: That as he had kept an equal hand of Justice to the Roman Catholics, so he hoped his Lordship would to the Protestants. Never was a Sword washed with so many Tears, as this, a most doleful preface of its being so in blood: It would surpass the Art of Rhetorick to set forth the dreadful Reflections which the poor afflicted Protestants made upon this Ominous Revolution. No Orator could find words to express the fatal Calamities which were now derived from the consequence of this change; it prefigured the worst of evils, and seemed to carry in all its parts the most dismal Characters of an Irreversible Extermination of the Protestant Interest, and Religion. Most of the *English* were possessed with the daily fears of a general Massacre to be suddenly put in Execution, and that in a most inhuman manner; and this produced the strangest Convulsions in the minds of men, that a most exquisite grief could be capable of. Others were more temperate in their sorrows, and were of opinion, that notwithstanding *Papery* was the Scene which must be acted, yet they were in hopes by some more plausible way, than that of downright murdering. They considered that the last Rebellion had heaped so much Infamy upon the *Irish*, and had justly rendered them such Barbarous and Inhumane Savages.

ges to the whole Christian World, that to obliterate that deserved reproach, they would now take some milder course; which though it might have something more of Humanity in it, would yet be as effectual to the design, the utter Subversion of the *Protestant* Interest and Religion. In fine, *Quos homines, eae sententia*; their Sentiments were as various as their Fears: But however all concurred in this, That *Papery* was the Game, that must not only be Played, but win too, whatever Arts were used to obtain the upshot.

The Lord *Clarendon* before he surrendered the Government, was very curious to inform himself of the Constitution and Condition of *Ireland*, and at his going over carried with him Copies of Records, Surveys, &c. of that Kingdom, and among other things, it is said, that he desired the Lord Chief Justice *Kearney*, (now in Rebellion in *Ireland*) and one of the fatal instruments for the ruine of that Kingdom, to give him his opinion in Writing, both as to the Legality and Justice of the Act of Settlement; as also to answer those Objections which had been made against it by *Neagle*; all which he amply performed; and which my Lord *Clarendon* upon his Arrival at Court, shewed to the King, who sent the Copy over to *Tyrconnel*, who spared not to reproach *Kearney* for this action, which *Kearney* at first disowned; but the matter being too plain to admit of an absolute denial, at length began to make the best Excuse he could.

My Lord *Clarendon* being shipped for *England*, now does the open and full Triumph of the *Irish* ambitiously shew it self in this advantageous light in all its grandeur and magnificence: The dejected condition of the *English* made their Victory more glorious. 'Twas now impossible for the Natives to forbear insulting over the *English* at an insupportable rate, as if they had been actually their Slaves, bound to the Wheels of their Chariots. That sober thought of *Sesostris*, when he had his Coach drawn by four Kings, was not a reflection to be entertained by them at this juncture. The Day was now their own, and *Post mortem nulla voluptas*, they failed not to use it as extravagantly whilst they enjoyed it. What Affronts and Indignities were now cast upon the *English*? How barbarously Hector'd and Insulted over by these Hissing Rhodomontadoes? How injured and oppressed by publick acts of notorious injustice? How abused as to their good Names, reviled as to their Religion, and reproached as *Englishmen* and *Protestants*? Called *Wassick Dogs*, and *Damn'd Hereticks*, is so publickly known, as requires not much pains to describe. Those of the *Protestants* who had been the most obliging to the *Irish*, were sure to meet with the most ungrateful returns; and if they had been so charitable as to relieve them in their necessities, as the *English* (a merciful and too easie natured a People) had frequently done, they would now in requital seize upon what they had, by open force, or else set others of their own Creatures to do it. If any of the *English* had lent Money to them;

them, or bargained for Goods and Commodities of the Countrey, whereby the *Irish* were become their Debtors; their usual payment (especially if they were in necessity, and afraid that Executions would be obtained against their persons or substance) was repairing to the next *Irish* Justice of the Peace, and swearing of High-Treason against their Creditors, though oftentimes (in kindness to them) they had been forbore with a year or two from discharging the Debt.

But I pass from speaking any more of these Infamous Wretches (whose Mercies are Cruelty) to *Tyrconnel's* first Steps in the Government as Lord Deputy, in relation to which, I shall now usher in at once, the removing of the Judges, though some of them were turned out before *Tyrconnel* came to the Sword: As Sir *Standish Harston* Baronet, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Sir *Richard Reynolds* Baronet, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*; and *Johnson*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*.

The Consult was in *London* before *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, whether the Judges should not be turned out before the Earl of *Clarendon* was removed, to represent him odious to the People, if he complied; or disobedient to the King, if he seemed unwilling in the matter, as they believed he would. For they observed that he and the Lord Chancellor *Porter*, began to startle at the Commands from *England*, before they received any account of their removal; and *Porter* publicly declared, That he came not over to serve a turn, nor would act any

any thing against his Conscience: and as a Testimony of this, he found at his return to *London*, that he could not without some difficulty obtain the favour of kissing the King's hand; but at length gaining admittance, he humbly asked the King, What he had done, that he was so used? For it had been a considerable expence to him to remove his Family. To which the King replied, That 'twas his own fault; which was an expression not very unintelligible. *Parker* went several times after to Court, and stood in the King's Eye; but he never vouchsafed to speak to him, or to take the least notice of him. But to come to the Judges, it was not thought safe to turn them all out, nor any more of them, till the Government was in a hand that was *Catholick*: For some of the Council, I mean, the Cabal, were afraid of proceeding in their design too fast; especially *Powis*, who urged a slow Progress, as accounting it most safe; and this made him not be confided in as to their secret and blacker Designs, though in his Lady they reposed an intire Confidence, as being thought the greatest Politician among them; and were not a little ambitious, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the *Popish Plot*, had given her that Character.

This Debate concerning the Judges, was long and often; some were for making a clear *ridance*, and to have the Reformation begin in the Courts of Judicature. They having already the Military part of the Government in their hands, might with greater Facility secure the Civil

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But the moderate Party prevailed, and one in a Court (to colour the actions of the rest) must be left: But that which stuck with them was, that Sir William Davis, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, must not be moved for two Reasons.

The First was, That he had been of the Duke's Party in the time of the *Popish Plot*, behaving himself so loyal, that he had been sent over, if Dissolving the Parliament had not preserved him: but this was the least part of his Strength.

The Second therefore, and most prevalent Inducement, was his Marriage with the Countess of Clancarty, whose Son had Married the Earl of *Sunderland's* Daughter, and *Sunderland* was to be denied nothing: Besides, Sir William Davis was a Diseased infirm man, given over for some years; and to expedite his Journey for another World (for he was a thoughtful man) his Brother Judge *Nugent*, (the first *Popish* Judge that was put in) pass'd Patent for Sir William Davis's place of Lord Chief Justice in reversion: a sad Prefage in those times, where men must die when and how their Adversaries pleased: This being resolved, the choice was soon made, Lord Chief Baron *Hen* makes way also for *Rice*, and in *Rice's* room, Sir *John* succeeds in the Common-Pleas.

In the High Court of Chancery, was placed Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a man notorious on Record, so exempts me from the pains of giving the Reader a Character of him in this place; but

but little regard was to be had to the man, so long as he was fitted to that interest, which was then promoting; it being very remarkable, That of what Persuasion soever they were, which they employed at this time, they chose men of the most branded Reputations, and whose Principles were such as could brave Conscience.

The three *Protestant* Judges had their several Capacities and Inclinations for their Service, the Lord Chief Justice *Davis*, I speak not of, for he was decreed to die, and did soon after; but the three Standards for the Cause, were the Lord Chief Justice *Kearney* for the *Common-Pleas*, *Dynin* for the *Kings-Bench*, and Baron *Worth* for the *Exchequer*. The Lord Chief Justice *Kearney* had always been a Servant of the Duke of *York*, was a Native of the place, as the *Irish* call them, his Family for many Ages there, and Naturalized into *Irish*; he was somewhat accounted to be *Popish* inclined, and therefore that Party thought themselves sure of him; but he was a person of more sense than to pursue the Cause with greater expedition than safety. He was rich and single, and small hopes would not spur him on to an excessive forwardness; however, as to the main, they questioned not his Affection to the Cause.

Dynin, though in his affection no friend to the *Irish* Government; yet lay under the powerful temptation of a numerous Family, and his not abounding in Riches made him the more Passive, though he believed himself the best of the

three; and when it laid in his power, shewed himself an *Englishman*.

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Baron *Winton* was the Man they most depended upon; and he was so well known, that 'twas in vain to pretend indifference; nor did he; but was the first man in the Exchequer (where there was more business than in all the Courts besides) that struck the fatal blow in all Causes where the *English* were concerned, as in the Sequel will appear in the Charters, and private Causes of the *English* that came before him.

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The Courts being thus settled, the next thing to be performed was calling in the Charters, and here *Tyrconnel* endeavoured to proceed in the same method, that the Lords Justices had done before, in perswading the City to deliver up their Arms. But one Art in State Policy could not easily be imposed twice in a year, and the *English* had a fresh Impression upon their Memories, by what plausible perswasive Rhetorick they had been cajoled out of their Arms; and now to have a like Delusion pass upon them, in depriving them of their Laws, was a colour not natural enough to deceive them a second time. However this was the method of the proceeding.

Tyrconnel (during the Lord *Clarendon's* Government had procured the King's Letter, that all *Roman Catholics* should be admitted into the freedom of all the Corporations of the Kingdom: which Letter was artfully contrived with

a great deal of Sweetness, and of endearing expressions, as that it proceeded from his Majesty's great care of the general good of the Kingdom, and was graciously designed by him for the encouragement of Trade, and the uniting of the Affections of his Subjects: and in order to put this in execution, the City of *Dublin* was to lead the way, and to be the Precedent to the whole Kingdom: And therefore in pursuance to the tenour of the aforesaid Letter, the Lord Mayor calls a General Assembly, wherein the Kings Letter was read; upon which the City made their humble Address to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, setting forth, that they found the City by Act of Parliament bound up, and that if they should act according to the Letter, they incurred a Forfeiture of their Charters: and therefore humbly prayed the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to lay their Condition at his Majesty's Feet, who (they did humbly conceive) was mis-informed in this matter. This retarded the freedom of the *Papists* for some time, but another Mayor, one *Castleton*, (who is still in *Dublin*) succeeding, he passed the *Irish* Freeman, and in consequence to this, the same was done in the whole Kingdom.

This was laid with ingenuity enough for promoting the *Irish* design; yet received not its hoped for effect, which was by this means to procure freedom for so many of the *Irish* in every Corporation, as by the Majority of their Suffrages, might out-vote the *English* in the Election of *Papish* Magistrates, which upon *Trincanell's*

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Accession to the Government, might facilitate the surrendering the Charters, and so render the Kingdom (as they styled it) entirely Catholic: But this device, how speciously soever contrived, did not reach the end of its Projectors. For notwithstanding the great Endeavours, and active Industry of the *Irish*; yet most of the Corporations out-balanced them in the number of *Protestants*.

Tyrconnel perceiving himself frustrated of his expectation, by the numerous Party of the *English*, has an immediate recourse to the way before-mentioned of the Lords Justices, and so put this in practice, sends for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and there acquaints them, that he had in charge from his Master the King, to tell them, as being the chief City of the Kingdom, and unto which, as such, he intended the greatest Marks of his Favour, that it was his pleasure to call in all the Charters of the Kingdom, not with design to take away any thing from them, but to enlarge their Privileges, by which act of bounty and favour, he might the more endear them unto him: He farther told them, that his Majesty expected their ready compliance, so as that their chearful surrendry of their Charter, might become exemplary to the rest of the Kingdom.

The Lord Mayor returned the answer usual in such cases; which was, that he would call an Assembly, and move it to them; and the next day he accordingly did so, acquainting them with what the Lord Deputy had given him in charge.

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The Assembly was not long upon their Resolves, but the manner of delivering them afforded the greatest matter of debate; the result whereof was this, That the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen should wait upon his Excellency, and acquaint his Lordship, that as the City had ever been exemplary in their Loyalty, and faithful Obedience to the Kings and Queens of *England*; so they should ever continue in the same; and therefore humbly conceived it to be their Duty to lay at his Majesty's feet the great Services they had done the Crown, under the Grants and Immunities of One Hundred and Thirty Charters, they had then in their Treasury from his Majesties Royal Ancestors; and they humbly prayed his Excellency to favour them in a kind representation of their condition to his Majesty, which they hoped would prevail with his Majesty for the continuance of their Ancient Government, under so many Gracious Grants and Charters. Upon the making of this return, there was present the King's Attorney and Solicitor. The first being a most virulent and inveterate *Papist*; nothing of friendship was expected from him: but the latter was not doubted, yet contrary to expectation, argued stiffly against the City. The Lord Deputy (as extravagantly mad to meet with this return, which so absolutely thwarted his design) fell into a great fit of violent Passion, and in a raging Tempest told them, That this was the continuance of their former Rebellion, that they had turned out all the Loyal Subjects in the last War of *Ireland*,

land, and that they would do so now, were it in their power; And it was, because they so lately disputed the King's Commands, for admitting *Catholic* Free-men, that caused his Majesty to call in their Charters; and in the close of this furious Speech, advised the Lord Mayor to call the Assembly again, and obey the King, or it would be worse for them.

Wherefore the Lord Mayor humbly besought his Excellency to signify his pleasure to the Assembly by a Letter under his hand, alledging, that they would not regard a Verbal Repetition of it, which they had been already acquainted with; as also urging, that it had been the constant practice of the Chief Governour to send their Letter upon occasions of publick business to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons. And if his Excellency would please to follow this usual method, he would act (as in duty bound) in obedience to it: To which the Solicitor General replied, that there was no necessity of any such Formality, but 'twas sufficient if his Excellency signify'd his Commands by word of Mouth, in which they ought to acquiesce.

Upon this, the Lord Mayor called another Assembly, and great Debates arose, how to demean themselves in this nice Criticism of Affairs: But as to the surrendry of their Charter, 'twas what they unanimously resolv'd against. After some Dispute as to the manner of Addressing the Lord Deputy in this case, 'twas at last resolv'd, and concluded, That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, should make their

their Application to his Excellency, with Reasons why they could not surrender their Charter, and to pray his Excellency to allow them time to Petition the King, not doubting but His Majesty would be graciously pleased to take into his Princely Consideration as well their Exemplary Loyalty, as Eminent Sufferings for his Royal Father, of Blessed Memory. Upon which they produced a Letter from King *Charles the First*, dated at *Oxford*, which contained great Acknowledgments of their great Loyalty and Faithfulness to him, which he gave them high assurances of being eminently rewarded, if it pleased the Divine Providence to restore him to his Crown, and its just Rights and Prerogatives.

The aforefaid Representatives of the City also prayed *Tyrconnel* to represent their condition favourably to His Majesty; but he answered them roughly, and according to his former Austerity, told them, That on the contrary he would Write against them; and in the interim according to the Directions he brought over with him from *England*, a *Quo Warranto* issued forth against the City: Who called another Common Council, and there agreed upon a Petition to the King, and sent over with it their Recorder, *Sir Richard Rivers*, who behaved himself bravely, and with good Applause in this matter: For notwithstanding that he was not only frequently fear'd, but threatened by *Tyrconnel*, if he proceeded in it; yet however he

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goes for *London*, and there solicits the Duke of *Ormond* to introduce him to the King, where on his Knee he delivers the Petition with a submissive tender of all the City Charters at His Majesties Feet: The King was already so prepossessed with the Partial Account that *Tyrconnell* had given of this Action, with which he was so extremely prejudiced, that upon the first sight of *Sir Richard Reeves*, he asked him if he had the *Hon^d Deputy's* leave to come with this Petition? And that he had those in *Ireland* that understood the Law better than himself, and so turn'd from him.

Sir Richard Reeves advised with the Duke of *Ormond*, who told him, That there was no hopes of succeeding in the Enterprize; so was forced to go back for *Dublin* with a short but unpleasant return of the ineffectualness of this Negotiation. But however the City was resolv'd to stand the Brunt, and to stop the violent Tide if possible, which now ran with so rapid a Current; and in order thereto they fee'd four Counsellors. Their first Evasion whereby to procrastinate matters, was by urging, that the Sheriffs were interested as Parties in the Writ, the Charters being granted to Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commons, and so could not properly make Returns to that Writ that came against themselves; this was deem'd to be Law, but nothing was to be accounted as such by Judges that broke through all Inclosures, and stuck not to trample upon the known Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, if opposit to their

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Popish and Arbitrary designs. So this return of the Sheriff was over-ruled, and a Fine imposed upon them, if in four days they did not amend their Return, which some thought they would not have agreed to: but 'twas among themselves thought fit to do it, and accordingly the *Attorney General* proceeded against them; and took some advantage of their Pleadings, which the Court gave judgment upon. This afforded matter of Triumph, and an universal excessive joy to the *Irish*, which disposed it self with a marvelous Celerity throughout the whole Kingdom; but became on the contrary hand as much a Subject of Lamentation to the *English Citizens*, who called themselves the *Virgin City*, as having never been tainted with any action of Disloyalty or Rebellion in all the several Revolutions and Vicissitudes of that unfortunate Kingdom, which, though never since it was in the possession of the King's of *England*, continued forty years uninterruptedly without an Insurrection of the Natives; yet was this City remarkably Loyal in all Changes, and performed many signal acts of Bravery and Courage, as their Records do amply testify, and of which (not to name many others) I cannot omit one very remarkable Instance; which was, That when the Lord Duke of *Ormond* received Orders by that Royal Martyr King *Charles the First*, of ever Blessed and Immortal Memory, to give up the Sword and Government to the Parliament; they being at that time best able to suppress the *Irish Rebels*: The

Lord of *Ormond*, in pursuance to this instruction, delivered up the Sword, and sent to the Mayor one *William Smith*, ordering him to do the like; but he to shew his Loyalty went to the Lord of *Ormond* accompanied with his Brethren the Aldermen, and told his Lordship, that he kept that Sword for the King, that the City was the King's Chamber, and he would deliver neither, but into the hands of the King's Servants: Upon which the Lord of *Ormond* took occasion to commend his Loyalty, and told him, He had the King's Commands to do it; and for the Mayors greater satisfaction, shewed him the King's Letter, which when the Mayor read, he observed there was order for the Lord of *Ormond*, to give up the Government to the Parliaments Commissioners; but not a word that the Mayor should do it; which the Mayor taking notice of to the Lord of *Ormond*, told him, he would leave the *Sword* and *Keys* of the City with his Lordship, to use as he pleased, he being the King's Lieutenant; and so he did, and after took his leave. This the City justly boasts of, as never being engaged in any Rebellion, nor ever actually under the Usurper's Government in any other manner than by the King's Appointment and Command.

But to return to the Charters, consonant to the Sentence against *Dublin*, so was Judgment given against all the Charters of the Kingdom, except against such as quietly surrendered, as most did, it being to no purpose to contend

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in the lesser and inferior parts of the Kingdom, after their *GOLIAH* of *Dublin* was slain.

I shall not impose upon the Reader's Patience with giving him an account of what subtle arts of Address, and Obsequious Contrivances, were made use of, to distinct Corporations, to prevail with them to surrender. This he will suppose that they were not remiss or unactive in, if he considers that they dreaded nothing so much, as that the Clamours and Outcries (of so many Bodies of people which were to be sued and disoblighd) should reach the Bars of the Court, and be made use of by the adverse Party to their disadvantage; and therefore we may be sure that they endeavoured to silence them as much as they could. For both *Tyrconnel* and his Voucher, *Meagle*, had assured their Party that most of the Charters would quietly be surrendered by the people, and that there was but one Corporation in the North of *Ireland*, which they were afraid of; this was *Carrickfergus*, which they managed with a great deal of Policy in the following manner.

Ellis, Secretary to *Tyrconnel*, writes a wheedling Letter to the Mayor of that City, insinuating how great an opinion the Lord Deputy had of his Loyalty, with abundance of such impertinent stuff, and that his Excellency would enlarge their Priviledges. They were foolishly taken with this gilded Hair, and so surrendered their Charter. Upon this success, *Ellis* was applauded as an excellent Instrument to delude the

the *Protestants* with; and so he was, which he improved, by the frequent opportunities which were offered to him of drawing in honest men, he having been many years in the Secretaries Office, and a pretended *Protestant*, though his Brother was a noted Champion for *Rome*; but that was one of the Machinations of the *Romish* Conclave, (mightily practised in *Ireland*) to disguise one part of their Family under the *Protestant* Education, though they were as much *Papists* as the other that appeared to be openly such by a publick Profession: A practice which the old *English* Families are rarely free from in that Kingdom.

But to come again to *Ellis*, his Letters and Messages flew round the Kingdom, and prevailed in many places, but more out of a Sentiment, That 'twas to no purpose to contend, than any Belief, or Opinion they had either of his, or his Masters assurances. But however that was, 'tis certain that *Ellis* acquired a fair Reputation among the *Papish* Party for his success in these Arts of Delusion and Treachery, and they in their Secret Cabals, did not a little magnifie and applaud their Politicks, which they thought, they so amused the *English* with, laughing at the Credulity of the *Veretish Dogs*, for so their Grandees in their private Meetings would frequently call them.

Having thus obtained their wish as to the surrendry of the Charters, the next work was to agree upon a Model for the men. This debate was strongly canvassed several ways, and that

that which chiefly puzzled them, and even put 'em almost to a Non-plus, was, that the King would have nothing of this transacted at Court, for fear of meeting with opposition there.

This Exigency, of not being suffered to receive advice from *England*, exposed them to great Difficulties; for they were utter Strangers to the Laws, and Government of Corporations; as indeed they were to all matters of Government, having been conversant in nothing but Secret Plots, and Private Contrivances, how to unninge and discompose all Governments; and as an aggravation of their misfortune, except *Rice*, *Daly*, and *Neagle*, there was not a man of them in the Privy Council that had common sense, if you will believe themselves: for *Rice* and *Daly* would often complain that nothing could pass at the Council Board, that concerned the Publick, but their Countrymen must first ask *Teig*. If that would not spoil his *Potatone Garden*.

Necessity at last supply'd the place of *Invention*; and a method was agreed upon which reduced Corporations to perfect Slavery; and this in all the Circumstances of that affair was their prime and ultimate aim: For as to matter of Trade, or improving of the Nation; these were Speculations of too Metaphysical a nature for men of their size, and former way of Education, as was demonstrated in the first Proclamation issued forth by *Tyrconnel* and his Council

cil to break an Act of Parliament in taking off the duty of Iron, and admitting it so into the Kingdom, whereby they might encourage *Morchant*s to bring in Pieces of Eight from *Spain*, and so hasty they were to have the honour of this admirable contrivance, that without asking the King's leave (which is always done before any Proclamation relating to the Revenue Pass) They put it in execution; but as soon as 'twas heard of in *England*, a Proclamation came from the King, forbidding this wise act made by these great States-men: And so ill this presumptuous folly of theirs was interpreted, That the Lord *Bellasis* swore in Council that, *That Fellow in Ireland, was Fool and Mad-man enough to ruine ten Kingdoms.*

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Father Petres corrected him severely for this foul miscarriage; and writ to him, That if he acted not with greater Caution, the King could not possibly preserve him in that Government. These Documents, and severe Reprimands of the Ghostly Father, were so religiously observed by him, that for the future he would proceed in nothing, but ball out at the Council-Board, and call them Fools and Blockheads, if they spake any thing that was contradicted by the *English* Privy-Council: Their great Confident, was the Lord Chief Justice *Kearney*, who knowing that he had an Ascendant over them as to Parts, was so imperious and insulting, that sometimes he was taken to task; but had wit enough to submit, yet often was very uneasy to them: But however he in publick, and

and W. in private (for he was not of the Privy-Council) directed them in the management of the affair of the Charters: And when they had got the shape and model of them presented by these Temporizing Painters, who drew to the life according to the *Popish* fancy, then they proceeded to an Election of the men to name in their Charters, and here they begged pardon of their Advisers, and would be their own Directors.

It was their Rule to have in the great Cities (who were most *English*) one third *Protestants*, and two thirds *Papists*; but then these that they called *Protestants* were *Quakers*, or other *Enthusiasticks*, and two or three in a Charter of such *Protestants*, as either their considerable Estates, or loose Principles would secure to their Party; by that means leaving not a man of true Value or Courage in any Corporation in the Kingdom: and although they took in Lords and Gentlemen out of the Countrey into all their Corporations; yet could they not compleat them without additional numbers of Scandalous and Cootemptible men: In one Corporation in the North, the first Magistrate of the Town was a Man that had been burnt in the Hand.

Here you see by what impious Arts, and fraudulent Machinations, the several Corporations were cheated and trappaned out of their Charters, most of them wheedled, and grossly imposed upon, by a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing, *Secretary Ellis*, who stuck not to make

great Promises of enlarging their Privileges, and the like, though he knew nothing to be more destructive of the *Protestant Interest and Religion*, of which he owned himself a Professor. And as his wearing of a *Protestant Mask* contributed very much to the success of this intrigue, so did the same Wizard, put on by *Knox* and *W.* not a little facilitate the Model of the new Charters, of which they contrived the Plat-form, and then 'twas easie for the *Papish Faction* to super-struct upon it, the palpableness of whose design was in nothing more fully evident, than in putting in of all manner of *Fanatical Enthusiasts*, into their new Charters, under the notion of *Protestants*. For 'twas evident that some of these were as irreconcilable Enemies to the *Protestant Church*, as they were Friends to, and Confederates with the *Romish*. As for instance, The *Quakers*, concerning which ridiculous Profession, Who is, or can be ignorant that 'twas derived from the Jesuits? Who knows not that these have sharpened their Weapons at the *Romish Forge*, and that their prime Leaders (whatever they otherwise pretend to) do inwardly own *Ignatius Loyola* as their Founder? These were therefore too much their own Creatures to be neglected by them, as not only appears by their former Principles (if those monstrous Absurdities they maintain, may be reckoned to be such) but also by their present Practices, as their vindicating the late King's Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, though it manifestly tended to the introduction of *Popery*,
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and their zealous espousing of his interest at this day, do fully shew. But amidst all the new arts of modelling the Corporations, neither their Brethren, the Quakers, nor other of their Adherents, could give them such effectual assistance, but that often they were put to their shifts, and necessitated to elect men of the blackest Characters, and most infamous Reputations, as appears from their choosing Magistrate that had been burnt in the Hand. Here was admirable justice indeed to be expected, where he who had not only held up his hand, but been punished in so scandalous a manner at the Bar, was now to sit upon the Bench.

But as the Papist Party were put to these Difficulties of getting any sort of men (how notoriously infamous soever), to fill up their Charters, so were they as much perplexed to find out men that would pay for them. For not ten in the whole Kingdom would, or could discharge the Fees for them. Wherefore to encourage them, the Lord Deputy ordered, That the Lord Chancellor, and Attorney General *Newbould* should abate half of their Fees: But all would not do, so that most of the new Charters are yet in the Attorney General's hands for want of paying the Fees, and the several Corporations act without them.

The infinite numbers of people deserting the Kingdom from all parts of it upon *Tyrconnell's* coming to the Government, made the Towns and Cities almost waste; discouraged all manner

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of Trade, and sunk the Revenue to an incredible Ebb, and deduction from its former value: These weighty Arguments were strongly pressed at Court to *Tyrconnel's* disadvantage, upon which he obtains leave to meet the King at *Chester*, and carries with him his great Minister and Counsellor *Rise*, who being chief Baron of the Exchequer, was to be believed above any, it being King *James's* Maxim, That he would bear no man in any thing that did not properly lie under his Province. *Rise* was fitly enough qualified to sooth up the King with fine Stories, and a specious representation of Affairs, which he could the more easily do, in regard there was none present to contradict him, and so this Cloud blew over, though many did believe, and were in hopes that it would have broke with that violence upon *Tyrconnel*, that he would never have returned again as Lord Deputy.

There as yet remained some Protestant Officers in the Army, which upon this interview were ordered to be disbanded, excepting some few, who 'tis believed had made fair Promises, which they had not occasion as yet to put in execution: Nor did King *James* require more than a private assurance of their Faith, and Inclinations to his interest, it being too early to make a publick Declaration as yet.

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The Judges were abroad upon their Circuit whilst *Tyrconnel* was in *England*, pursuing such instructions as he had prescribed to them, before

fore his departure, which were severe and prejudicial enough to the *English*, and to their *Protestant Clergy*, notwithstanding his late Proclamation, superadded to others before from the King, that they should enjoy all their Ecclesiastical Rites, and Just Dues, as they had formerly done: The Clergy having since the beginning of King *James's* Reign, lain under great Grievances, as to the non-payment of their dues (especially Surplice Fees, which in that Kingdom they call *Book-money*, and is very considerable to them, by reason of the numerousness of *Irish* Families in most places) took the opportunity at the Assizes in the several Circuits, to represent their condition to the Judges, as Persons from whom they expected Redress; but on the contrary met with very dissatisfactory, and unequal returns. For though the Judges could not disown the legality of those small Dues called the *Book money*, because founded upon the same Law with the greater Tythes, as the *Irish* of the Country unanimously did, (notwithstanding that they had paid them in the former Reign) yet did they so manifestly discourage the Clergy in their Addresses to them, (taking all advantages against them that could be offered, and as studiously declining every Argument made in their favour, as they were ready to embrace, and hearken to what could be objected against them, though meer Forgeries of the *Irish*) and thereby so animated the Natives against them, that they seemed to do them as much injustice (though under specious and fair

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pretences) as if they had publickly told the *Papists*, that they ought not to pay them any thing: Though at the same time, and with the same breath that they were guilty of this execrable partiality, they had the confidence to avow the justice of their proceedings towards the Clergy, for whom they would have had them believe that they entertained the most equitable, and upright intentions. This would require a large Discourse, if accurately handled, but my unskilfulness in a matter out of my Province, and peculiar to Ecclesiasticks, will (I hope) be excused, though thus slenderly touched upon; but thought it better to speak something imperfectly of it, than wholly omit an Affair which was so universal in the Reign of the late King *James*, and so publickly transacted in the whole Kingdom.

The Judges found the Gaols full stocked with *Tories* and *Irish* Robbers; but *Irish* Sheriffs and *Irish* Juries were so Gracious as to vouchsafe them so general a deliverance, that not one in forty was found guilty. And in such Cases where Matter of Fact was notoriously plain, or any of the Grandees were any way interessed in belief of the Criminals (as 'twas rare almost to a miracle if none were) and the Evidence not to be taken off; there 'twas usual for the Prisoner at the Bar to be called by wrong Names, and so discharged for want of Prosecution: To these Arts of evading condign punishment for their Execrable Crimes, several Menaces were added, to terrifie the Plaintiff from pro-

prosecuting, as that otherwise their Houses should be burnt, their Cattle stole, their substance destroyed, and perhaps their own Throats cut, which as often threatened, so not seldom put in execution; a sad discouragement to the poor *English*, who lay under the daily hazard of being Robbed and Pillaged by the *Irish*; and if they happened to seize the Malefactors, must either discontinue any farther prosecution against them; or else be exposed to greater mischief. For the Proof and Demonstration whereof (not to insist upon too many others) take the following Instance, which for the eminency of the Person, and Barbarity of the several Facts, may supply the rest, acted by the Earl of C.

This Earls Eldest Son (a great Favourite of the Duke of *Tork's*) was with him at Sea, and there killed, and leaving no Heir, his younger Brother was brought out of a Convent in *France*, and instated in the Earldom. The Duke of *Ormond*, who always endeavoured to Naturalize the *Irish* Families into *English*, embraced this opportunity (there being none living but his Sister and this Earl, who was next to a Natural) to Marry him to a Daughter of the Earl of *Kildare's* in *Ireland*, a firm *Protestant*, and capable of an Intrigue beyond her Sex; by this Lady he had several Children, and one Son, who is now Earl: He was by the Duke of *Ormond* sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by him carefully bred up a *Protestant*, and Educated at *Oxford*. His Uncle *Justin Mac Carthy* (as it since appears, for the promotion of the

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Catholic Cause) without the knowledge of his Mother, or the Duke of *Ormond*, Marries him when not Sixteen Years of Age, to the Earl of *Sunderland's* Daughter, and immediately sends him for *Ireland*, where he continued a *Protestant* until the coming of King *James* to the Crown; and then like the rest of his Countrymen, at that juncture returned to his old *Vomit*: He had then a Troop of Horse given him, which he soon made of his own Breed; for before their inlisting, they were the greatest Vagrants of the Countrey, which with himself now ravaged in the Countrey, in an horrible and most inhumane manner, Forcing Women, Maiming of Men, Pulling down of Houses, and all other Extravagancies, which he, and his Hellish Tribe could invent. I already assumed (before I entered upon this Man's Character) to give a remarkable Instance of the violence offered to the *English* for their just and legal Prosecution of Notorious *Irish* Criminals and Malefactors; which I shall now set before you in two remarkable Passages relating to this Earl, which were publicly transacted at the Bar.

One was of a poor *Butcher*, at a Town near *Corke*, who refusing *Clancarthy's* Men an Horse, they violently seized him by force, and would never return him to the Owner, which the Man making Complaint of to the Judges of Assize, in presence of the Earl: The Judges ordered satisfaction to be made to the Man for his Horse, which the Earl promised to see performed: But

As soon as the Judges were departed the Country, he takes some of his Troopers along with him and goes to the Man's House, and told him that he was come to give him satisfaction for his Horse: Whereupon he forces him out of his House, and ordering the vile Instruments, his Troopers, to get a Blanket, and upon a Pavement before the Poor Man's Door, stood as a most Barbarous and Inhumane Spectator, whilst they tossed him in a Blanket, ever and anon decking him fall upon the Stones till they broke him, as if upon the Wheel, all to pieces, and so left him dead.

The other Passage relating to this fine Spark, was of a Man that had offended him at a place called *Clenmelt*; him he first had beaten with Sticks, and then hung up by the hair of the Head: he was taken down alive, but what became of him after was not known. The Accomplices of this Tragedy, his Villanous Troopers, were brought to the Bar, and Tried for the Murder, and notwithstanding that this horrid Action was done in the sight of an hundred Men, yet were they quitted, and the Earls never Tried.

He to this day proceeds in these boundless Inhumanities, which perhaps may be an occasion of great sorrow and trouble to his Mother.

But to return to the Judges which we left upon their Circuits: Little Justice was administered by them to the *English*, but in such extraordinary Occurrences where the *Irish* were

so notoriously culpable, as would accuse them of most gross partiality, to have passed Sentence in their favour! But in all things that had but the least shadow of Justice, or of seeming equity and reasonableness in it, they were sure to carry it; and this was acted in pursuance to one of *Tyrannus's* Instructions from Court, which was, That the Judges should be directed in their Circuits to undermine and enervate the *Protestant Interest*, which indeed they did so effectually, that no *Englishman* could either get in Rents, or be secure of what they had formerly received. For there being a Statute in *Ireland*, which we have not in our *English* Laws, for Trials by *Civil Bills*, as they call them, which (in the nature of *Chancery*) is such an Arbitrary way of proceeding, as gives the Judges of the Kingdom opportunities, which too many of them (as said) have made ill use of.

By this Arbitrary Method of proceeding, the *Irish* had now hit upon an expeditious way, whereby to ruin the *English*. For 'twas no more but with a Twelvepenny Process hung at any Man's Door, and a false Affidavit, made (which the *Irish* can as easily digest as the most common Action they do) and so an Execution was obtained, directed to an *Irish* Sheriff for a pretended Debt of Twenty Years standing, it being very common for an *Irish* Tenant to sue and bring a Fellow to swear that in such a Year his Landlord distrained Cattle of Twenty or Thirty Pounds value, and had them appraised

praised at the half proportion of what they were worth: This was sufficient to obtain an Execution for the relief of the poor distressed *Ushers*, a practice becoming as universal against, as destructive to the *English*, inasmuch that in the *North of Ireland* there was not one man in five of the ordinary *British* that were not ruined; and had they continued those Courses but few Years longer, together with their exorbitant Proceedings against the *English* in their *Manner*, *Sheriffs*, and the like *Inferiour Courts*, (where such barbarous Injustices, and publick Oppressions, and Violences were acted, as never till then were heard of among *Christians*) these without other means might have wholly reduced the Kingdom into *Irish* hands. For as by their Civil Bills at the *Admiral*, and by their notorious Perjuries in the *Inferiour Courts*, they destroyed the smaller men; so by Ejectments in the higher Courts, they took away mens Estates in Fee: It being observed, That never one Cause came before them upon a Trial for Land, but the Judgment was constantly given in favour of the *Irish*. Complaints were continually made at Court of these irregular Proceedings, and Writs of *Habeas Corpus* were brought from *England*, but generally the same Judgments were confirmed in this Kingdom; the Judges here being most of the same Stamp.

Sheridon about this time began to be discovered by *Tyrconnel* to sell places of all sorts, both Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military: He was not

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only *Principal Secretary of State*, but also one of the *Commissioners of the Customs*: So that whenever he met with a conveniency of making an advantageous bargain for a place in the *Custom-house*, he would pretend to the *Commissioners*, That 'twas my Lord Deputy's Request to have such a Person employed. This by degrees increased so much upon the *Commissioners*, that *Diskefan*, one of the *Commissioners*, writ over to the *Lords of the Treasury*, that they were so burthened and oppressed with *Irish Officers*, recommended by the Lord Deputy, that he was afraid that the Revenue would be lost by ill management. Upon this, my Lord Deputy was ordered not to recommend a man, nor any ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The *Commissioners* also issued forth their Orders, posted up at the *Custom-house Door*. That all Persons, who had Petitioned for Employments in the Customs or Revenue, should return to their respective Abodes, for that there would be no Employments disposed of. This Bustle created various Disputes betwixt *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridan*; and from this time forward *Sheridan* contrived to undermine *Tyrconnel*. His first Stratagem was to prepossess the *Ramish Clergy* against him, which to accomplish, he contracts an intimate Acquaintance with *Tyrconnel's* Chaplain, that most frequently officiated: This Fellow picks up what he could of *Tyrconnel's* contempt of the Mass and Prayers: One particular Charge was, That when the Army was in the Camp at the *Curragh of Kildare*, *Tyrconnel* being at play in his Tent,

Tent, the *Priest* came to him to know if his *Excellency* would go to Mass; who replied, No, he would send, (naming some body by him) to stand in his place, and that would do as well: Of this *Sheridan* being a Bigotted Zealot, gives an account to *Father Petres*, whose Niece *Sheridan* had Married, by which means he obtained an interest and freedom with the Jesuit, and not with him only, but with all the *Irish Clergy*, especially with the *Titular Primate of Armagh*, who being an *Ulster* man, as *Sheridan* was, had no kindness for *Tyrconnel*, who was of the Pale, a sort of *old English* degenerated into *Irish*, but had in no esteem by the Natives of the Province of *Ulster*. The aforesaid *Titular Primate* then contracted an intimate Familiarity and Acquaintance with his Cousin *Sheridan*, as he called him, and they (with the before-mentioned Priest) formed Articles against *Tyrconnel*; which having compleated, and *Sheridan* disposed of his Affairs, prays leave of the Lord Deputy to go for *England*, pretending some private business of his own to dispatch there: But *Tyrconnel* being jealous that he designed some prejudice to himself, would not give him permission to go; upon which, *Sheridan* writes to a Cousin of his to *London* to take out a Licence from the King, which *Father Peters* look'd upon as strange, and sent him word back, That the King would enquire the reason why he had it not from the Lord Deputy. This could not be transacted with that secrecy at Court, but that *Tyrconnel* had some intelligence of it, which exigency drove him to have

have recourse to his two Grand Counsellors at a dead lift, *Rice*, and *Neagle*, who advised him to take no notice, nor shew any outward Symptoms of discontent against *Sheridan*, but rather attend some opportunity whereby to intangle him in a snare, which soon offered, it being *facile baculum inventre*, &c. no difficult matter to find out Treachery and Perfidiousness enough in an *Irish-man* whereof to accuse him. They observed that the Lord Deputy's Domestick Chaplain was intimately conversant with *Sheridan*, and another Priest that was, or called himself Cousin to him. To countermine these Intrigues the Lord Deputy appoints a third Priest, a Confident of his own, to fall into an intimate familiarity with his Brethren, who seemed inclined to unite his endeavours with theirs, if they had any intentions of impeaching *Tyreconnel*: The Priest managed this Affair with so much skill and dexterity (verifying the vulgar saying of *Serving a Thief to catch a Thief*) that he soon wound himself into a strict League of Amity with them, and so seemingly interested in all their Affairs, that they no longer questioned his espousing their Party; and to delude them the more artificially pretended to find out new matter of accusation against *Tyreconnel*, which he did so effectually, that against the Post-day he brought his Charge against the Lord Deputy in writing under his own hand, which *Sheridan* in his light sealed up, with a great many more in a Packet, and directed it to his Cousin in *London*: This being done, the Priest takes leave of *Sheridan*, and gives

gives notice immediately to *Rie* the chief Baron, who doubted not to trap him upon this favourable occasion. *Sheridon* (as usually) makes up the Lord Deputy's Pacquet, sending all to the Post, with instructions for the Pacquet immediately to go to Sea.

Rie and *Neale* remained in the Lord Deputy's Closet, and at twelve of the Clock at Night a Messenger was sent on Board the Pacquet-Boat to fetch off the Male, which being opened, *Sheridon's* Pacquet was taken out, directed to his Cousin, which discovered the whole Intrigue, and among the rest, the *Irish* Primate's concern in the design. *Sheridon's* Pacquet was sealed up and put into the Male, except one Letter, which was taken out, directed to a certain person in *London*, full of vehement Exclamations against the Lord Deputy, and giving an account of many of his Articles which he designed to impeach him of.

Rie and *Neale* advised the Lord Deputy to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he accordingly did, setting forth *Sheridon's* Briberies and other Simister Practices, not taking any notice of *Sheridon's* contrivance against himself. All this was done when *Sheridon* was asleep, and not suspicious of any design against him, which the better to disguise, *Tyrconnel* still carried himself to him with the same unconcernedness as formerly.

At this time happened the death of the Bishop of *Cloyne*, in order to which Commissioners were appointed for setting and disposing of the Revenue of that Bishoprick. It was adjacent to

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Sheridon's Countrey, who had abundance of Cousins (especially upon such an occasion as this) some of which he endeavoured to prefer in that Employment, thereby hoping to have fished out something for himself; but the Lord Chief Baron was now (though he knew it not) become his formidable opposite, and there was one of the Commissioners of the Customs, *Dickison* by name, that was a person, as well of great experience as of integrity and honesty, who kept a vigilant eye upon *Sheridon*; for though he had a great hand over, and much influenced the rest of the Commissioners, yet could he never prevail upon *Dickison*.

Now arrives the return of his Pacquet to his Cousin in *London*, but with no good account of his Affairs: The reason of which ill success was *Sunderland's* acquainting *Father Peters* with the complaints that were made against him by the Lord Deputy, and thereupon shewed him his Letter from *Tyrconnel*. That Letter which was taken out of the Pacquet in *Dublin* was not misfed by *Sheridon's* Cousin in *London*, who only writ back to him, That he had delivered his several Letters as directed, and no more.

'Twas now time for the Lord Deputy to break publickly with *Sheridon*, and in order to it sends for him into his Closet, there being present with him, the Earl of *Lymerick*, the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, Judge *Daly*, and some others: The Lord Deputy demanded of *Sheridon*, Whether or no he had written any thing against him to *London*? *Sheridon*

Sheridon who wanted not Confidence, or rather Impudence (with which his Countrey men do universally abound to an immense proportion and degree) answered, That he had not; but that he had heard that his Excellency had writ against him, which so enraged the Lord Deputy (who is a great *Furioso*, and can prescribe no limits to his Passion) that he could not contain from calling him Traytour, Cheat, Rogue, &c. and pulling out *Sheridon's* Letter, asked him if that was not his hand; which for the present put him into great disorder and confusion, but after some recollection he assumed to justify himself, and to enter into a Capitulation with the Lord Deputy, at which *Tyrconnel* rose in excess of fury to kick him; so he was turned out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party were in long consideration how to proceed in this nice Conjunction of Affairs: They dreaded not *Sheridon's* interest, or Impeachments so much, as this opportunity of awakening his Excellency's Enemies at Court: After various Debates, 'twas at last resolved, That *Daly* should take *Sheridon* to Task, and so accommodate the matter as to stifle any farther noise of it, which *Sheridon* was ready enough to embrace; but at the same time both the Lord Deputy and he had mutual Jealousies of, and strove who should first intrap one another.

The Lord Deputy (by reason of his aversion to him, for siding with *Sheridon*) does now revive the Quarrel, that the *Irish Clergy* had with the *Primate*; especially the *Archbishop of Cashell*.

I call the *Titular* one so in this Discourse: Upon an Assembly of the *Titular Popish Bishops* of *Ireland*, great Debate arose concerning the Priority of their Jurisdictions; in reference to which, the *Primate* insolently usurped over them all, not distinguishing the *Archbishop*, which he of *Cashell* resenting as a great Indignity and Affront, inflamed the difference to a great height, and caused them to break up abruptly, and in great discontent with one another.

Cashell is the more Learned Man, the *Primate* being universally condemned by their own Party, as neither respected by them as a Scholar, or a Man of Parts, which general disesteem made most of the *Clergy* that were considerable (I mean the *Dignitaries*) bandy against him; and their Prejudice ran so high, that they sent over to *Father Peters* (who promoted their Applications to the King) to have a *Co-adjutor* imposed upon him. The King writes about it to the *Pope* with aggravating Exclamations of the *Primate's* Miscarriages and Insufficiency; to which the *Pope* replied, That he was one of his own Election, and so indeed he was, being a *Fryar* in *Spain*, and coming over *Chaplain* to the *Spanish Ambassador*, at the time of the *Primate of Ireland's* being Executed, he prevailed with the *Ambassador* to present him to the Duke of *Tork*, who writ to the *Pope* in his behalf, upon whose recommendation he got the Mitre. This Quarrel of the *Irish Clergy* had been dormant for some time, but the Deputy to execute his Revenge upon the *Primate*, thought it now seasonable to awaken and revive it. But this

this continued not long upon the Stage, for he soon received a severe reprimand from *Father Peters* for this rash Action, who was extremely moved at the proceeding. This being the most effectual course whereby to render their Party ridiculous and contemptible to the World, that whilst they were so industriously contriving to establish their Religion, they should at once break all their former measures by endeavouring to supplant and destroy one another. And therefore 'twas immediately hushed up in a deep silence, and the *Primate* (at least seemingly, and to outward appearance) reconciled to the Lord Deputy.

Meredith again assumes to Petition for leave to go for *England*, assuring his Excellency, That 'twas only in order to pursue some private business of his own; That he had a Law-suit for some Debt due to his Wife, which required his attendance, &c. but all would not prevail to obtain permission, wherefore he employs his Wife's interest at *London*, and by that way solicits the King with so much importunity, till at last an Order was got for his going over.

About the Ninth of *December* in this Year, upon a *Sunday* Morning there happened such an Inundation of Water in the City of *Dublin*, as no man was ever a Spectator of the like: It carried away *Seven Bridges*, destroyed *Houses*, and without intermission continued *seven days* overflowing a great part of the City, to the unspeakable damage of many Thousands; and that which

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increased the Prodigy, was, That no Rain fell, save a few Showers upon the *Saturday* Night before. This besides the considerable detriment to, or rather apparent ruine of many *English*, was accounted by many as a miraculous act of the Divine Providence, and interpreted as an ominous Presage of that Deluge of Troubles which has since so universally descended upon the poor *English* in that distressed Kingdom.

But to come again to *Sheridan*, who now arrives at *London*, but 'twas near four and twenty hours before he could speak with *Sunderland*, who after his admittance gave him but a cold reception; the reason of which (as 'twas conjectured) was, that *Sunderland* expected that which *Sheridan* was not yet Master of; for he had but just began his Trade when the Lord Deputy and he fell at variance.

This indifferency, or rather coldness in *Sunderland*, did not hinder him from applying to the rest of his Friends, but was so unhappy as to find by them, that there was no expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*; for he was fortified with the French Interest, and was in a manner Deputy to *Lewis*, not *James*; it being said in *Paris* when News came there of *Tyrconnel's* being struck out, That there was none in *England* durst move him: and so it appeared as we shall find hereafter.

Sheridan wanted not those which were Favourites and Well-wishers to his design against the Deputy, as *Castlemain*, *Powis*, and another not to be named, but they durst not trust *Sheridan* with their Sentiments, but sent some of their Confidants

dents to animate him with general Proffises, without naming any body: He found himself now involved in great danger, and in three days turned his Story, and went to *Sunderland*, to whom he had at first only complained of the Lord Deputy's unkindness, but now comes, and positively affirms, that he brought over no Articles against him, nor could say any thing but what was honourable of him, only that his Excellency had taken displeasure against him, he knew not why, &c. and that the occasion of his coming over, was to follow his own private business: *Father Peters*, his Wife's Uncle, would not carry him to kiss the King's hand, but at last his Friend, the Lord *Sunderland*, got him admittance: However the King would not hear him speak, in so great awe stood he, to his Brother, for rather *Walter of Exeter*, whose Creature *Tyrannet* was, *Sheridon* had not continued three days in *London*, when he was followed by the Lord *Dungan*, a Young Man, Son to the Earl of *Lynstrith*: He brought Letters to *Sunderland* and others, setting forth *Sheridon* in black Characters; which Negotiation so succeeded, that *Father Peters* would admit him no more in his presence: And now those Lords which would have privately supported him against *Tyrannet*, deserted, and declaimed against him, when they perceived that he publicly magnified his Master; by which means he was wholly left to himself, and *Tyrannet's* Party vigorously pursued him here as a Delinquent, and had it immediately entered in the

the News-Letter, That he was turned out of his Employments in *Ireland*; and so he had notice given him, that he was too chief of being Secretary, and as *Papish Bishop*, preferred to his place. In consequence whereof he was banished most wretchedly. *Sheridan* was now involved in very great straits to go back; he considered 'twas to no purpose to remain here, 'twas not possible for him without the assistance of Friends and none would appear for him. At length he delivers a Petition with his own hand to the King, desiring that he might be heard speak for himself, and not be Condemned to utter Destruction, as he accounted it to be, if he stood not in his Majesty's favour. The King gave him no other Answer, but that he must return to the Lord Deputy, and there justify himself; this he reckoned to be hard upon him, but waiting upon the Lord *Sandwich* for some order to carry back, upon which he grounded his Trial, 'twas thought fit to name the Chief Judges to hear, and to report back the Matter to the King, as they should find it. With this order he returns for *Ireland*, together with a Letter of Recommendation from *Sandwich* to the Lord Deputy, praying his Lordship to take Compassion of the Poor Man, who was sufficiently mortify'd by what he had already suffered in the loss of his Secretary's Place, and that if his Excellency should pursue him farther in the taking of his Commissioner's Place in the Customs, he was a Ruined Man; for that the King had declared if Matters alleged against him were proved, he should never have any Employment in his

his Dominions; and in the Close added, That Acts of Clemency were suitable to persons of his Excellence's Quality and Station, *or* Burmesters were now come to too high a pitch, and the breach was too wide ever to be patched up together again, as it had been once already by Judge *Daly's* mediation betwixt them. *Sheridan* on some in his stead had even in *Dublin* whilst this was transacting, spoke contemptibly of the Lord Deputy, in order to applaud *Sheridan* as a Triumphant Conquerour: For so the Populace had cryed him up in *Dublin*; and the *Protestant Party* in *Ireland*, out of Enmity to *Byssop*, which it seems they thought to be the worst man of the two, though in reality *Sheridan* as an Apostate was the greater Villain.

Upon *Sheridan's* Arrival at *Dublin*, he was imprisoned to the Castle with his Papers, but was afterwards admitted to the presence of the Lord Deputy: He then goes to the *Custom-house*, and there sits among his Brethren. The next day the Lord Deputy advises with the Judges what to do with him; for his Stomach could not digest his enjoying any Place in the Kingdom, whilst he continued *Chief Governor*. The Judges Counsell'd to appoint a *Day of Hearing*, and in the mean time to suspend him from sitting in the *Custom-house*. *Sheridan* had this order sent him upon which he came to the Castle, and disputed his being suspended, as if not in the Lord Deputy's Power. This Behaviour was an Aggravation to his former, and upon farther consulting with the Judges, it was agreed, That since much of the proof of *Sheridan's*

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don's Bribery depended upon the Officers concerned in the Revenue, 'twould be absolutely necessary to heap as much Ignominy and Disgrace upon him in that Province, as was possible; which to effect, the *Commissioners of the Customs* were sent for, and ordered to write to all the Collectors of the Kingdom not to keep any correspondence with *Sheridan*, in regard that he was suspended from acting in the Revenue.

A day being appointed for *Sheridan* to come to an Hearing, he moved for more time, which was readily granted; for at this time another blow from *Rome* came against *Hydecock*, which required his best Ministers to divert; which was as follows.

The Earl of *Castlemain* had for some time been returned from his Embassy to the Pope, but was Invested in no Preferment; which he complained of to his Holiness, which was seconded by *Father Peters*; upon the receipt of whose Letters, his Holiness writes over to his Nuncio, to Address to the King in his behalf; who was as ready to gratify him in something, as the other to embrace it, but at present there was no vacancy. But to supply that, *Father Peters* takes opportunity to strike at *Jeffreys* the Lord Chancellor, for tampering in the business of *Magdalen-College*, in order to which, he roundly acquaints the King, That the most effectual course whereby to accomplish his Design by establishing the *Catholic Religion*, was, to let his *Prime Ministers* and the *World* understand, that no service, they had or could do, should protect them, or be deemed of any account

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if they failed in the least *Ides* or minuteſt Circumſtance relating to the *Catholic Cauſe*. This Argument was ſo purſued with a conſtant uninterrupted vigour by the *Nuncio* and *Father Peters*, that 'twas brought to the Cabinet, and upon the Seventeenth of *December* at Night in this Year it was reſolved, That *Jeffreys* ſhould be put out, and that three of the *Lords of the Treſury* ſhould be made *Lords Commiſſioners of the Broad Seal*, and that *Caſtlemain* ſhould be *Lord Treſurer*. This Reſolve continued not ten days, but upon the ſuddain the Scene changed, and *Jeffreys* fixed more firm than ever. The true cauſe of this was never known, but 'twas obſerved, that the *Queen* and *Sunderland* adhered to him. This adminiſtered freſh cauſe of diſguſt to *Caſtlemain* and to the Church Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs moved by the *French Intereſt*, in oppoſition to that of *Rome*: Such inſuperable Difficulties had the Folly of that poor unfortunate King expoſed him to: His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to *Rome*, but his dependance was intirely built upon *France*.

The Church ſoon embraced the opportunity of the Lord Deputy's and *Sheridon's* Quarrelling, wherein to recommend *Caſtlemain* as a fit perſon for the Government of *Ireland*, repreſenting to the full how injurious thoſe Scandalous Impeachments of the Lord Deputy and *Sheridon* had been to, and how much they had retarded the Progreſs of the *Catholic Cauſe*: Farther urging that *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too ſlow a motion, and that he had effected nothing but the turning

out of a few Soldiers, and discouraging and frightening away the Industrious *English* who might (many of them) by Indulgence and Encouragement have been prevailed upon to espouse their Religion; That *Castlemain* was a Man of great Parts, and of a fine curious Head for the accomplishing of such a Work as the Reducing and Converting of *Hereticks*.

This was soon sent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Pensioner in *London* Communicated to *Paris*, which the Deputy acquaints his two Grand States-men *Rice* and *Neagle* with, who to dissipate this approaching Storm, sit up Night and Day, even to the hazard of *Rice's* Life, who was an Infirm Man.

Their whole Consult was (as appeared afterwards) what Apology to make for their small Proficiency in Profelyting Men to their Religion, or at least in inducing them to the espousal of the *Romish* Cause and Interest, and after many Essays, the most Authentick was, that whilst the *English* were Masters of their Lands, they feared not the Government, but as *Satan* answered in the Case of *Job*, Touch them but in their Estates, and they will either run into Treason or Conversion. This being resolved upon, *Rice* and *Neagle* were to draw up the substance of an Act, which they did in that nature as gave (in a manner) the Lands of the whole Kingdom into the power of the King, and although the *Catholicks* were to have but half of their Estates, yet the other part was to be under such Qualifications, as that the King might dispose of it to such

as he found to be obedient Sons. This if the King would have pursued, a Parliament they could have had when they pleased, fitted for their turn, all Corporations being already put into *Papists* hands, and all the Sheriffs of the Counties being *Papists*, would be sure not to make returns to their disadvantage.

This Consult being come to this ripeness, 'twas concluded, that *Rice* should go over as Plenipotentiary in negotiating this Affair, which was managed with that privacy and reservedness, that not one of the Council knew of it till the War-rant was signed for the Yacht to carry him over: But as soon as this became publick, the Lord Chief Justice *Negus* flew about like lightening to all his Friends, to make an interest to go over with *Rice*, which *Negus* and *Rice* privately opposed; for as one of them told the Author, he was good for nothing but to spoil a business; when nothing could prevail, he pretended some affairs of his own, and so obtained leave to go over, and for the honour of the business, was joined with *Rice*, to present that which was publickly to be offered, but was not in any part of the great intrigue, to render the undertaking more prosperous. For the Deliverance of the *Irish* Nation, they Embark'd upon St. Patrick's Day; but considering the bad success they met with, they might as well have put him out of their Kalendar, as by a particular order from *Rome*, they had formerly done St. *Luke*, because upon that Holy-day the *English* had obtained a great Victory over them in the last Rebellion.

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But to return to the *Irish* Embassadors (for so they were called here in *England*) over they came, and after *Rice* had paid a Visit to the Jesuits (of whose Society he was once a Novice, and had been educated in their Colledge) he made his first Court to the Lord *Sunderland*. *Father Peters* he found not favourable to his design, but the *French Faction* was his chief dependance, to whom he had always a recourse in his private Consults, without communicating any thing to his Colleague, whom he kept in great ignorance of the private intrigue of *Castlemain* against the Lord Deputy. 'Twas *Rice's* chief business to possess the Conclave with a great opinion of the Lord Deputy's extraordinary Zeal for the promotion of the *Catholic Cause*, and that he had made a much greater Progress in it before that time, if the want of a Parliament, and the continuance of the Act of Settlement, had not retarded that design: without which *Rice* alledged, That 'twas impossible to make Converts, or to Profelyte any to their Party, who thought themselves Masters of the Kingdom, whilst they had the Laws on their side, and made it their boast, That the King durst not attempt to meddle with them. So that as Affairs stood, there seemed a more rational probability, that the *Roman Catholics* should condescend to the *Protestants*, than they to the *Roman Catholics*. Thus was *Rice* very active, and industrious, in urging and propagating the intrigue, which when it was fully comprehended by his Party, *Father Peters* was with much difficulty influenced so

as to be brought over to the same

far as to join in it, though at first he could not be prevailed upon to hear of it: For he was absolutely byas'd for *Castlemain's* interest, and being no Politician, but a perfect fury, and of an Imperious Temper, was wont to contemn every thing that was not his humour: But this Project being a work of expedition in *Ireland*, and (in his own Style) to Convert or Confound the *Hetericks* there; he at last embraced it, and when once he became interess'd, nothing must be done but by his direction and advice; so 'twas concluded upon, that the Project should be laid open before *Sunderland*, and that when he was made Master of it, he and *Father Peters* would wait on the King with it: And to oblige *Sunderland's* more cheartful and hearty concurrence in this Affair, he was to be made sensible what signal advantages would be derived to his Lordship from so great a Revolution in that Kingdom, a matter which required no great art so to instil it into him, as to make it intelligible.

But notwithstanding *Father Peters* adherence to this Project, yet did he continue in his former Inclinations for removing *Tyrconnel*: And 'twas believed that happy difference among the several *Romish Factions*, was the prime occasion of diverting this fatal blow design'd for *Ireland*.

The business was in the Closer fully discours'd to the King by none but *Sunderland* and *Peters*, (who with the liberty of a digression, I must acquaint the Reader, was not infallible in keeping Secrets.) The King was soon fully inclin'd to the thing, but how to pass it at the Council, *Hic labor, hoc opus est*, there lay the stress of the business;

nels; for he was very apprehensive that such as were opposite to *Tyrconnel's* continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, would be more violent against his being there with a Parliament too great for such a Man whom the Council had in contempt. *Peters* thought he could easily remove that obstacle by introducing the Popes recommendation of *Castlemain*, but over that the *French* King had laid his hand, to whom the poor King was become a Vassal. Amidst these difficulties, 'twas hard to form a resolution, but however 'twas agreed to, that the two Judges should be publicly introduced to the King with their project for calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to lay at his Majesty's feet the deplorable condition of his *Catholic* Subjects there, occasioned by the palpable injustice and oppression of the *Act of Settlement*, which was so notorious, that the very *Protestants* themselves were ashamed of it, and would gladly part with enough to satisfy the *Irish*, in case that they might have a good *Act of Parliament* to secure the rest. All this was put in practice, and they brought to *Whitehall*, where the King received their Project in writing, and told them, he would advise with his Council about it.

Now 'twas the constant method of King *James* in any thing of weight, or importance, to consider it first in the Cabal, before 'twas proposed at Council Board; yet this thing, upon which entirely depended the Settlement or ruin of a Kingdom, had not that Sanction, but was carried immediately to the Council, which was matter of admiration to many, but supposed to be done for one

one of these two Reasons, either that the King was conscious that those of the Cabinet would not suffer it to proceed any farther, but was in hopes so to influence the Judges and other Tools, he had at the Council-Board, to vote for it: Or else that he would shew his indifferency in the matter, that so it might not be thought any private intrigue.

The King brought this project the first Council-day, and in few words acquainted the Council with its importance and contents, and by whom presented to him: no man spoke a word either in favour of, or in opposition to the thing, but desired it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellasis* in a storm of Passion inveigh'd bitterly against it, saying that, If such designs as those were encouraged, they of England, (meaning the Catholics) had best in time to look out for some other Country, and not stay to be a mad Sacrifice for Irish Rebels. *Powis*, according to the best of his understanding seconded; and in short, 'twas so run down, that neither *Sunderland* nor *Peters*, durst attempt to speak a word in its vindication, but only desired, that those Gentlemen which brought over those Papers might be heard. *Bellasis* was for committing them, or commanding their immediate return; but 'twas at last thought reasonable to hear them, so a day was appointed.

The noise of this, and the success it had met with at Council-Board, flew abroad with great Exclamations, the Boys in the street running after the Coach where *Rice* and *Nugent* at any time were, with *Pottatoes* stuck on sticks, and crying,

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Make room for the Irish Embassadors. 'Twas believed that some of the Popish Party did blow up the People, that so the King might be sensible what mischief this would tend to.

The day came on for *these Embassadors* to be heard at Council-board, where *Rice* made a Speech full of Policy and Artifice, and answered the Objections made by the Lord *Bellasis* and *Powis*; but when *Nugent* came to speak, he kicked down all that *Rice* had done, and *Bellasis* presently discovered the defect of his *Irish understanding*, as he call'd it, abusing him beyond the respect due to the place where the King was, calling him Fool and Knave, and *Powis* did the same. They were not long in tearing this fine Project to pieces, which when they had done, *Bellasis* bid them make haste to the Fool their Master, and bid him next Bessage be sent, to employ *Waller Ben*, and upon a more honest Errand. *Powis* bid them tell him, That the King had better use to make of his Catholick Subjects in England, than to Sacrifice them for reppize to the Protestants of Ireland in lieu of their Estates there.

In short, every one fell so violently upon them at the Board, that the King remained silent, and without any resolve or order, broke up the Council, and neither the Embassadors nor their Project appeared more upon the Stage, but kissing the King's Hand, march'd off with great hast and precipitation; for they were afraid that even the *Roman Catholicks themselves* would have affronted 'em.

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This Miscarriage of *Tyrconnell's* gave fresh opportunity to the *Castlemans* to raise Objections against

against him, setting forth what mischiefs he had already done in that Kingdom; that the Revenue was sunk to an incredible abatement, and that in one year more there would not be left money enough in the Kingdom to discharge the Army, and that this last Project of his would exasperate, and frighten away those of the *Engl^o* which were left, who being the dealing and industrious people of the Nation, would put a final period to all Trade and Commerce in that wasted and depopulated Country: But all these just and reasonable Allegations, (which matter of fact, and the present ruinous and distracted Estate of that Kingdom, did but too fully evince the truth, or rather infallibility of) though judiciously laid down before the *King* by sober and considering persons, yet were they all to no purpose: For though the *King* kept it private from most of his Council, yet certain it is, that he had promised the *French King* the disposal of that Government and Kingdom, when things had attained to that growth, as to be fit to bear it: This jump'd near to the time of the *King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, and the *Bishops Commitment to the Tower*: And as one had ruin'd *England*, if the visible hand of Supream Providence had not signally and miraculously interpos'd, by inspiring the Bishops with couragious and invincible resolutions in a just vindication of the *Protestant Cause and Religion*; so the other had struck the fatal blow to the Laws and Fundamental Constitutions of *Ireland*, if some *Hushai's* even amongst the *Romish Faction* had not turn'd the pernicious Counsels of those *Achitophels* into folly.

The expected success of the aforelaid Embassa-

dors Negotiation, which by one Party was dreaded, by the other hop'd to prove answerable to its *desires*, made various impressions upon men in proportion to their different interests. The *English* were apprehensive of no less a change than a total subversion of the Government, and an unravelling of all the Laws made for the security of their Estates and Religion, which the unbinding the Act of Settlement (the sole occasion of this Solemn Embassy) would at one blow compleat. The Natives were (imaginary) in actual possession: Their apprehensions wherof were such as discovered all the outward signs and indications of so high a satisfaction, as cannot be easily represented. Joy and Triumph was in all their Actions and Discourses: Fancy and Imagination wrought very powerfully, and like Men in *Beulah*, who dream of nothing but Kingdoms and Empires, they seem'd to shew as much Complacency, and to be alike transported with the airy hopes of getting, as if they had been already invested in their Estates: But this Scene of Joy, which had been represented with so much splendour and magnificence, soon disappear'd, and a Melancholy Prospect over-shadew'd with a dark Cloud, was quickly brought upon the Stage, when they perceiv'd all their hopes blasted in the fruitless consequences of this great intrigue. *Parturient montes*, their high expectations soon descend'd to a low ebb, and they were quickly under as great dependency (by this sudden turn of the Spoke in the Wheel) as they were before of satisfaction. For as they are wont to put no bounds to their Ecstasies, and transports in prosperous, so neither do they limit their sorrow and despair, upon adverse

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Contingencies. An unequalness of mind, and resolution very remarkable among the *Irish*, who like the floating *Europeans*, have no consistency in themselves, but are carried up and down in their hopes and fears, according as every petty accident does either invite or discourage.

But to return to *Sheridan* whose Trial *Rice* and *Nugent's* absence had retarded, and the ill effects of whose Negotiation had so exalted him that he began to vaunt over his enemies, openly exclaiming upon the Lord Deputy, and withal adding, That he would soon be removed from the Government, and such advantage did he derive from this tolerance *Townshill* came with in *England*, that he had the Lord Deputy and his Judges, at defiance, and was now become so imperious that his bragging and threatening the Evidence took off several. And the truth is, after that *Rice* returned from *England* they were in such despondency, expecting every day a new Lord Lieutenant, inasmuch that one day *Townshill* himself said publicly to some Officers at the Castle, that though he had great assurance from the King, that he should not be removed, yet now he heard that he should, and with'd that he had given Five Thousand Pounds to have known it a Month sooner, which expression was much wondered at.

Sheridan now comes upon his Trial, having four Counsellors *Protestants*, or at least, who pretended to be such, for two of them have since by their actions given cause of suspicion, viz. *Whiche* and *Donohan*, two intire Friends; the first now with King *James* in *Ireland*, and employed a Judge of *Ober* and *Terminus* to try *Protestants* for their Rebellion.

1638.

Donohan is here, and makes as fair a shew for King *William*, as his Brother *whicked* for King *James*, but had the misfortune of being discovered to procure a Pass for his Brothers Son that was here employed by King *James*, and one of his Converts, who 'tis said, has since returned hither from *Ireland* with Intelligence from King *James*. Two as good *Protestants* as Brethren, but both in Iniquity: One acts by a Commission from King *James* against those of his own Church, and Profession, and not only so, but interprets that to be Rebellion, which was grounded upon no other design than an absolute preservation of their Lives from the bloody Massacres of the *Irish*, who having robb'd and pilaged them of their substance, at the next step would have broke into their Houses, and have cut their Throats, from which they were bound by the Law of Nature, and consequently by that of Religion, (to which the fact carries no opposition, but is derived from it as its prime and original foundation) to defend themselves. But is it possible for any one that stiles himself a *Protestant*, so shamefully to temporize and prevaricate as against the Laws of Nature and Humanity thus (as it were) to prey upon his own kind? The other promotes King *James's* interest, though not publickly, and upon the open stage, yet by private and secret machinations, though at the same time he seems a zealous adherer to the present Government: An Hypocrisie, which, I pray, may be as much beyond a Parallel, as 'tis without excuse.

But I come to *Sheridan*: The Charge that was brought against him, was, for selling of Place, and receiving extravagant Fees in his Office. To prove which

which there were Witnesses of all sorts brought from all parts of the Kingdom, to which *Sheridan* and his Counsel made defence only by criminating the Evidence, or making them interested as Parties that swore to get money, if they could fix it upon him. The chief Evidence produc'd against him was a Priest that he had employed to bring in Grift to his Mill.

This Priest he brought Evidence to prove he was a Man of a lewd and infamous Character, guilty of several vile actions, as of Bastardy, &c. Much time was consumed in hearing impertinent stuff, not worth my filling Paper with, or the trouble of the Reader's perusal; but in the end he was dismiss'd of his Employments, and so went off the Stage the worst of men, had he not left an *Ellis* behind him, a Miscreant of all Shapes, that hath since been the Engine of Murders and Rapins in that Country.

But now comes into Ireland one Captain Bridges, who rid Post to bring the happy News of the Birth of the supposed Prince of Wales: For which he received the Honour of Knighthood by the Name of Sir Matthew Bridges.

1688.

What Tongue can express, or man describe, the extravagancy of those Joys which possessed the Irish at the arrival of this News. Their former apprehensions of the shortness of their triumph, by reason of King James's declension in Age, and the prospect of a Protestant Successor, had extremely embittered their greatest Comforts, and caus'd an intermixture of hopes and fears. But now that they had got a Young Prince that would become a Patron to the Holy Church, this soon dissipated

all

all their troubles. They now considered, that their Religion would be perpetuated to future Ages, and that upon this fond they might not only extirpate Heretic, but so establish the Holy Catholic Religion, as to remain to all Posterity: For now (in the Scripture Phrase, which they usurpingly monopolize and improperly apply to themselves) *The Gates of Hell was never like to prevail against their Church.* These were such sweet Reflections as they never before had a perfect relish of, and which such narrow Breasts, and earthy Souls, were not capable to contain, or to contemplate upon, without making a violent eruption into all the outward demonstrations of an inconceivable satisfaction. I would require a Volume to describe the particularities of those various Scenes of Joy, which they shew'd upon this occasion. Let this suffice, That no Acts of Extravagancy were omitted, whereby to represent their boundless Complacencies. This News gave them so victorious an ascendant over the English, that they were now become the scorn and contempt of those individual persons who had been their Slaves and Vassals, inasmuch, that the meanest Labourer would now upon the least provocation, threaten to hang his Master. One pleasure instant to this purpose, I cannot omit, the Author being an Ear-witness of it. A Labourer came to his Master very soberly, and told him he owed him a Cow, and bid him give it him presently: the Gentleman laughed at him, for he owed him not a Penny: upon which the Fellow growing angry, the Gentleman called him Rascal, and offered to beat him; but the Servant was not only too quick, but too strong for the Master, whom he was very fairly

ly about to Cudgel; but Company interposing diverted him from his intention: But the Jest still remains, which he spake in *Irish*, but being interpreted runs in *English* thus, *Don English Church*, (with an Oath by his Maker and St. Patrick) I will hang thee with these hands, as well as ever thou wast hanged in the life. But the poor Gentleman was afraid that he would have given him such an Hanging as is never used but once.

The News of the *Bishop* being committed to the Tower, came some few days before that of the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth, either of which gave them abundantly more joy than they could possibly bear, but being united, put them into strange Convulsions. Their Passions were now outrageous, having both these at once upon their hearts, and now that they must vent themselves, 'twas a most difficult thing to restrain their hands from cutting of *throats*, it being natural to them in their drink and reveling Debaucheries, for want of Enemies, to stab one another, and contrary to other Brutes (for they deserve no better Name) they are most mischievous when best pleased. Then is revived an old Quarrel of the Grandfathers (commenced an hundred years ago) and the revenge must be executed, if any of the *Class* (as they call them) be in the Company.

Before I take leave of our supposed Prince of *Wales*'s Birth, I must not omit to acquaint the Reader of the universal confidence of all the *Irish* in the Kingdom, that the Queen (as soon as 'twas said she had Conceived) was with Child of a Son. Thus they were so certain of, that they would lay you Twenty Guineas to one, or any other Wager in proportion to that, from the highest to the lowest.

est amongst them. This confidence was much warranted as by the *English*, and judged to be very unreasonable, if not built upon some private Grounds and Inducements which I leave the Reader to guess at, which some amongst them were certainly acquainted with, whose Discourses among the rest created in them a belief of some extraordinary design then in agitation: Otherwise they would never have been so forward in proposing such extravagant Wagers, which when the *English* enquir'd the reason of, they attributed their great assurance to the Prayers of their Infallible Church, which were daily offered to God upon this account, and would undoubtedly meet with a suitable return. But it appeared plain enough, that though this was generally ascribed as the true cause of their great confidence, yet that they had other Latent Reasons which were not fit to be discovered.

1688.

But to leave this and proceed to other Matters. The Judges of Assize even *Daily* that was the justest man amongst them, and who in the first Circuit he went did good service in hanging of his Countrymen, did now this Summer-Circuit favour all Criminals, and having Sheriffs of their own, packed such Juries as neither Murder nor Felony, if committed upon *Protestants*, was adjudg'd to be a Crime, and where Matters were so apparent, that they could not possibly but find them, the utmost extremity us'd was *Burning in the Hand*. 'Twas said, that the Lord Deputy had particular Commands from King *James* in this matter for these Reasons. First, They Hanged none but *Catholicks*. For this cause known in an Age (which helps the

the great honesty and integrity of the ordinary sort of Protestants, that any Englishman turns a Thief, or is guilty of Theft.

In the second place, it was thought the best way to destroy the Protestants, and it was observ'd that none were rob'd but Intoxigible English Fanatics, as they called them, and these were deem'd to be such, that were so inflexible to all their blandishing arts of perswasion, and alluring enticements, as there remained no hopes of their Conversion. Whereas in all parts of Ireland there were too many Lascivious and Temporising Protestants, who being related to the old stock of the Kingdom, could easily shelter themselves under the constant protection of the Irish Gentry and Grandees, and these luke-warm Indifferents were those which the English were most afraid of.

The Judges pursued their Instructions to the utmost, and now that notorious principle, which the Church of Rome is ashamed to own, but daily practices; That no Faith is to be kept with, (and give me leave to add) nor justice given to Hereticks, was signally demonstrated at this juncture. For now, tho' both Laity and Clergy lay every day more and more under additional grievances, yet it was apparent that there was no hopes of any redress. The Laity had not only great arrears of Rent due to them, but still more and more old pretences were reviv'd by the Irish of Debts due to them ten or twenty years ago, which they now sued for, as pretending that they could have no justice in the Protestant Government, which was the reason they had retarded prosecuting so long, in order to which they wanted not Knights of the Post, who for the value of Six-pence in drink, would make as many

false Affidavits against the *English* as they pleased. The Clergy made their complaint to the *Judges* the year before (as I have hinted to you already) as to the obstinacy of the Country in the non payment of their small dues; and receiv'd no redress; but now the evils were grown upon them to an higher pitch. The *Priests* were now become so confident in their hopes of establishing *Papery*, that they could no longer contain from shewing their inveterate malice against the *Protestant Clergy*, against whom they endeavour'd to prepossess their people as Mass (over whom they have an unlimited and Arbitrary power) with all imaginable prejudice and contempt. The *Priests* now suggested to them, that by the same reason that they detained the *offer* from, they might also refuse the paying the *greater Tythes* to, the *Ministers*, as Corn, Hay, &c. They told them that they saw by their own experience, they had been discouraged in their pursuit after the first, and after all their endeavours could get no redress, and now that the *Catholicks* had liberty of their Religion, they saw not why they should not deny them the last: For the Law would not give those to them more than the former. Of right they told them that all the Tythes belonged to them as their proper due, and tho' by the oppression and injustice of the *Protestant Government* they had been kept out of them so long to their apparent prejudice and disadvantage, yet now things were in another posture: They had now a *Catholick King*, and *Catholick Magistrants* of their own, who would not take their dues from them, but rather invest them in them; and therefore charged the people under pain of Excommunication and the severest Anathemas not to pay any manner of Tythes to the *Protestant Ministers*.

Next The vulgar *Irish* were so much over-awed with these arts of terror from their Priests (whose Sentence in any thing they reverence with an equal fear, and alike profound veneration, as if pronounced by the Pope in the Infallible Chair) that none would come to the *Præfatis* to take Tythes of them, unless these dreadful Imprecations (which if incurred they believ'd themselves to be certainly damn'd) were taken off. By this means the great Tythes were like to lie upon the Ministers hands, a great inconvenience in most parts of *Ireland*, where their Parishes being so vast circumference, and full of Bogs and Mountainous places, 'twould be difficult if not impossible almost to gather their Tythes in kind, at least without having one half of them seiz'd and stole by the *Irish*. This puts the Clergy upon a necessity either of sending out their Tythes in small proportions, or else they must lose them, and in those Countreys where the *Irish* are most numerous, the vulgar sort were wont to take the Tythes, which the Priests now prohibiting under the aforesaid Penalties, would (as they were sensible) be an unspeakable loss and mischief to the Ministers, for the reasons already mentioned, which was what they studiously aim'd at, and were desirous to improve, as high as they could.

These malicious practices of the Priests put the *Protestant Clergy* to great inconveniencies in the disposal of their Tythes, especially in such Countreys where the *Irish* were most numerous. Most were forced to descend to an accommodation with the Priests, bestowing a considerable proportion of Tythes upon themselves (which was what they drove at) to suffer the ordinary *Irish* to come and buy the rest. Some that would not be abus'd at that

rate, made their Applications to the Judges of Assize, complaining against these insolent and irregular Proceedings of the Priests. But alas it was not to be expected that these *Catholick Judges* would go and punish their Ghostly Fathers, a very unnatural act in their Religion. In short no Law would be found out to punish them, all that could be gained (and that very rarely) was a civil admonition to them, not to disturb the *Protestant Clergy* in their rights and the like, and so were dismissed, how plain soever the Matter of Fact was proved against them. By this it seemed that those of the Clergy, though not the most Courageous, yet were the most Politick, who dealt privately with the Priests, and by fair words and considerable Largesses of Tythe-Corn, &c. prevail'd upon them to be quiet: for the meek and filial regard of these Judges to their Worthy Fathers, served but to make them the more insulting and imperious over the Ministers, who still animated the Countrey against them, and at last to that height that several of the *Irish* in many Parishes violently seized upon the Tythe-Corn, &c. and converted it to their own use, neither suffering any other to buy it, nor any Servant of the Ministers to come upon the Land to collect it.

But to leave this Affair of the Clergy, and to joyn them and the Laity together, if it happened that for money due by Bills under Hand and Seal, or by clear and unquestionable Evidence, Executions were obtain'd from the Judges against any of the *Irish*, then had the Natives another refuge to shelter themselves under, and to fly to that of an *Irish Sheriff*, who would carefully decline all opportunities of taking the Party; or if he could not avoid apprehending him, then would either suffer him

him to make a voluntary escape, or else an hundred two of Men should lie in the way, and rescue him from the Gaol; or if they wanted force, the whole Countrey of the *Irish* would rise up and assist them, if the Debt was due to an *English Churl*, as they called them. These things so encouraged the *Irish* that had Executions over them, that they would come and hector those of the *English* (to whom they owed the Money) in the open street, and with their Swords by their sides, and Fire-Arms and Skeens in their Pockets (the last a bloody large Knife, with which they are wont to stab the *English*, and not seldom one another) with half a dozen or more luffy Rogues at their backs, would come to their Doors, and bid them publick defiance.

Thus were the *English* either deny'd justice against the *Irish*, or if they obtain'd it from the Judges, yet they were sure not to meet with it in the Sheriff, and so have no other return of all their trouble, but the contracting additional cost to their former Debt from one Assizes to another, which was like to continue *in infinitum*, and all to no purpose, unless that of enhancing the charges far above the principal Debt, and still be out of both. On the contrary hand, if an *Irish-man* had but any tolerable plea for a debt due from a *Protestant*, a decree was presently granted, and as for the Sheriff's execution of it, 'twas as swift as his implacable hatred could carry him, and then be sure no failure was committed in the severe usage of the Debtor, whether in relation to Body or Goods: If the last, then must three times value of the Debt be taken, and apprais'd by *Irish-men* appointed for the purpose, who the Reader may presume, would not put too large an estimate upon them? (would fill a Vo-

lume to give the particular instances of such violent and irregular actions done, to the Authors own knowledge. But I proceed.

1688.

Now came by a Ship from *Amsterdam* bound to *Dublin* with Letters from a Friend of *Tyrconnell's* to him, which intimated, that he writing nothing but his own Conjecture, did imagin that the *Prince of Orange* had a design against *England*, for none could otherwise guess what all those great preparations in *Holland*, which they were so extremely hot upon, tended to. *Tyrconnell* sent this Letter over to *Sunderland*, who shew'd it to the King, who made no other use of it than to deride *Tyrconnell*, as appear'd from *Sunderland's* Writing to him, and ridiculing his intelligence. But every day offer'd in fresh suspicions, the effect whereof was look'd upon as very strange, as being a thing which was wish'd for both by Friends and Enemies. The *Irish* (to shew their ancient Vanity) triumphed before the Victory. They called the *English*, *Rebels*, by way of Prediction; for they were sure that they would joyn with the *Prince*, and as certain that they would be beaten and be served the same lawce that *Munro* and his Adherents had met with, only that they now spoke more bloodily, and in more malicious and Butcherly expressions against the *Prince of Orange*, whose head they would pick on a pike, and carry it round the Kingdom. For near a Month this was only discour'd of, but at last arriv'd King *James's* Proclamation, and then the *English* began to consider what they should do. The most considerable persons amongst them hasten'd to *Dublin* to see how things stood. The *Irish* also flock'd thither in such Multitudes, that the City could

could not contain them; yet the soberer and more prudent party were for sitting still, and some for going over to *England*, as being differently possessed with various fears and distractions, and when the happy News arriv'd of the *Prince's Landing*, they hung down their Heads like Bullrushes, and were under the greatest desperation and despondency; and on the contrary, the *English* bore up as victors: *Tyrconnell* courted them, and made every day preparations for flight.

Yet the Term was then begun at *Dublin*, and the *Edw. C. J. Nagent* (than whom perhaps the Bench never bore a more *Confident Ignorant Irishman*) gave the Charge to the *Grand Jury*, in which he applauded and extolled above the height of an Hyperbole, the *Magnanimous and Heroick Actions* of the *Great and Just King James*; and on the contrary cast the most villifying Reproaches upon the *Princes of Orange*, and charged them to make a diligent disquisition after any that were suspected to adhere to his interest, with such opprobrious expressions fit only for the Mouth of an *Irish Vultur*, or *Cannibal*; his conclusion was, That now the *States of Holland* were weary of the *Prince*, and that they had sent him over to be dress'd as *Mummouth* was, but that was too good for him, And that he doubtless not before a Month pass'd, to hear, that they were hanging up all over *England* in *Bombes* (the *Ropes of Drapery*).

About this time, as a Prelude to what has since followed, was one *Swan* a Gentleman near *Dublin*, most barbarously Murdered by the *Sheriff*, and a parcel of *Irish Ruffians*. The pretence the *Sheriff* had, was to take possession of some Land that an

Irish

1688.

Irishman had recovered from the said *Swan*, but with so little right, than the *Irish Judges* in the *Exchequer* (a Demonstration indeed, that 'twas palpably unjust) refused to grant the Injunction; however their *Tool, Worth*, did it, and the cry is, *That the Blood of that Man lies at his door*: But the *Sheriff* exceeded the Tenour of his Warrant; for he had nothing to do with the House nor Land it stood upon. *Swan* therefore kept his House, and the *Sheriff* coming to take possession, *Swan* looked out of the Window, and desired him to call a *Jury* of that Neighbourhood, and if they found that Land or House in his order from the *Exchequer*, he would give quiet possession; but otherwise he would not open his Doors, for he was very sure the *Sheriff* had no order to come thers. Upon this, without any offer of *Swan*, more than keeping his Door shut, the *Sheriff* having his Men ready, a number of them together, discharged a Volley of Shot at him as he stood in his Window, and shot him in several places: they broke open his Doors, and finding him wallowing in Blood, and groaning upon the Floor, they took him up, and flung him out of Doors. Some more Compassionate than the rest carried him into a Cabin, where he had so much strength as to ask for Drink. In his House there was of several sorts enough, but those *Inhumane Butchers* would not give the Dying Man a drop, who died there in the place. This Horrible Tragedy I thought fit not to omit the relation of, (though by way of Digression) as being but the introductory part of too many of the like Barbarities repeated since.

Every day by all ways Expresses came to *Tyrconnell*, which gave him no good account of Affairs, which made him give Commissions to any that would

would accept of them, and that he might have the more custom without a penny of Fees to the Secretary: For many of them that had Commissions, pawned them for their Lodgings at their going out of Town, nor having a Penny to carry them along, but pawning their very Cloaths off their Basks as they Travelled.

The *English* and some of the best of themselves laughed at this Poppet-play, for no man believed that it was designed for more than a show, and that *Tyrconnel* did it to make good his Word, of being able to raise an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men at a Months notice.

Every day brought an additional account of the Prince of *Orange's* success, which put the *Gracians* into so great a terrour, and consternation, that those who at first had expressed a great deal of alacrity and forwardness amongst them, in raising of Men, began now to decline, and by degrees more and more to draw back. Then the Lord Deputy sent to the Judges, and the Lord Chief Justice *Noyes*, (to shew his valour) undertook to raise a Regiment, and so others pretended to do, but it came to nothing. The *Irish* were in greater trouble and confusion than before, the *English* braving it in City and Country, every day expecting to have an *English* Lord Lieutenant over, it being the unanimous opinion of all the *Protestants*, that the *Irish* Lords would have contended who should be the first Man to make their submission: but no relief coming to the *English* as was expected, some began to draw for *England*, when an unexpected Catastrophe had like to have swallowed all up. It was the Earl of *Mount Alexander's* receiving of a Letter, giving him an account,

1688.

That upon the Ninth of that Instant December all the Protestants of Ireland were to be cut off. This Letter he sends with several Copies to Dublin, and to all parts of the Kingdom; it arrived at Dublin but on Friday, and the Sunday following was to be the day of Slaughter. This suddain alarm struck such a fear upon the English, that upon the Saturday there got away about Three Thousand Souls. There happened to be abundance of Ships in the Harbour at that time, but were so cramm'd that many were in danger of being stifled.

The Run of these people happened to be so suddain, and in the middle of the Night, that it resembled the flight of the Jews out of Egypt, and the Irish were as desirous to have them gone, for some of them were in as great a terrour as the other. The Guards kept their Post in a Maze, and the Draw-bridge of the Castle was drawn up, thus they stood upon their Guard till Morning, and when Tyrconnel understood what the matter was, he first sent the Earl of Roscommon, and the Earl of Longford to Ringsend (this being Sunday Morning) to perswade the People to stay, and ordered the Yacht to sail after them that were gone, and to fetch them back, but neither of his Orders succeeded. And the same day sent to some of the most Considerable Persons, and Citizens of Dublin, that were Protestants, making great Protestations and Oaths of his utter abhorrence of the pretended design of Massacring the English, begging them to perswade their Friends not to stir.

It was by all his actions at this juncture sufficiently apparent, that he had then no thoughts of standing out, notwithstanding that he gave Commissions to every one that would accept of them:

For he now made great Court to the *English*, de-
firing several of them to testify how just and equal
he had always been in his Government to the *Pro-*
testants. This was a condescension to the *English*,

which carried no proportion with the imperious-
ness of his former carriage to them, and was ac-
cordingly interpreted as an effect of inevitable ne-
cessity; and of that great Consternation, of which
such eminent Characters were plainly legible in
all the Circumstances of his Deportment; for he
now discovered as much awe and dread of the luc-
rifer of the Prince of *Orange's* Arms, as upon the
first News of his Arrival he had done of disdain
and contempt. Every Action he did had deep
Marks of his Fears engraven upon it, and all his
Discourses expressed his disordered and evil appre-
hensions of the present tendency of Affairs.

But as Matters were in this great hurry and
confusion at the Castle, so is it not easy to set forth
the strange Effects and Consequences which at-
tended that sudden alarm in the City of an in-
tended Universal Massacre. There you might see
Thousands of People deserting their Houses, and
all their Substance in the World, and running to
the Ships with scarce any Cloak upon their Backs.

Never was seen such a Consternation as at this
time; Never such a Confusion and Distraction.
All the Bloody Massacres in the former Rebellion
were now reflected upon under the most ghastly
and dismal Representations, and those Scenes of
barbarity and cruelty seem'd to threaten the same
new misusage, which produc'd the greatest hor-
rour and amazement, grief and despair that hu-
man nature could be capable of.

This fatal News which had so terrify'd the *Pro-*

testants of *Dublin*, as if the dissolution of all things had been at hand, arrived not to several parts of the Kingdom, till the very day 'twas to be put in execution, which being *Sunday*, was brought to the People in the time of Divine Service in some places, which struck them with such suddain apprehensions of immediate destruction, that the Doors not allowing quick passage enough, by reason of the Crowd, abundance of persons made their escapes out of the Windows, and in the greatest fright and disorder that can be represented, the Men leaving their Hats and Perriwigs behind them, some of them had their Cloaths torn to pieces, others were trampled underfoot, and the Women in a worse condition than the men. And this disturbance did not only continue for this day, but for several *Sundays* after, the *Protestants* were in such a Consternation and terroure, that all, or most of them carried Fire Arms, and other Weapons to Church with them, and the very Ministers went armed into the Pulpit, and Centinels stood at the Church doors all the while that they were in the Church. But whether this (which created so great a fear and uproar among the *Protestants* in all parts of the Kingdom) were a real thing designed, or whether by that discovery prevented, I leave it to others to judge and determine; but certain it is, that never any thing which happened in the Kingdom (no not all the occasions of fear which were given to the *English* in the daily Progress of *Papery* in the late *King James's* Reign, or even that of *Tyrconnel's* coming to the Government) made so great a fright among the *Protestants* as this.

1688.

From this time we may commence those unheard of acts of rapin and spoil, which the *Irish* be-

began to exercise upon the *English*, such unparalleled Villanies of open Robbery and Violence as no History can equalize, no time produce, or scarce any Nation (however so barbarous) have been known to be guilty of, at least never any that had the Culture of a Moral, much less of a Christian Education, or that were so far civilized as to be reduced to any sense of humanity, or to submission to Law and Government.

'Twas a Principle long imbibed by the Natives of that *Kingdom*, and which a continued practice had given some proof and demonstration of, that 'twas no crime to rob or steal from an *Englishman* as being an *Heresick*, and deem'd a publick enemy to their Religion, as well as to their individual interests. Though this principle was too notorious to be own'd and defended, and in that respect, is of a like cognation with too many of the *Romish* Church; yet their actions evidenced the truth of it; I mean not of the Principle it self, but of their being of that Opinion. For 'twas plain, that their forbearing to ravage and destroy the substance of the *English*, when under the *Protestant* Government, was to be attributed to a fear of the Laws, or rather of the Penalties annexed to the breach of them, which had hitherto in some measure curb'd and restrained them from violence; and not to any Principle of Conscience, or distributive Justice. On the contrary they were so far from respecting it as a Crime to injure the *English* in what they could, (as is already touch'd upon) that they look'd upon it as an act of merit. *Quo jure, quaque injuria, per fessum, nefasque.* If they could contrive any way to prejudice them in their substance or Estates, though by the most sinister and impious devi-

devices, 'twas a lessening of the *Purgatory Flames*, if not a quite Extinguishing; at least, 'twas a nearer step to *Paradise*.

But although this vile Maxim was industriously conceal'd amongst them, and though at the bottom of their hearts did only break out now and then whilst they were kept under submission and obedience to the *English*, and this for fear of an Human, not any Divine Law; yet when the face of things chang'd to their advantage in the Reign of the late *King James*, and amongst many others, the Laws against notorious Criminals, and publick Malefactors, if *Irishmen*, if not quite cancell'd, were much dispensed with: Then the Natives shew'd themselves in their proper Colours, and manfully apply'd themselves to rob and steal from the *English*, which though it was a continued practice in all the aforesaid Reign, yet never arriv'd to its maturity till this time. Now all things were in confusion, and the Reins of Government seem'd to be let loose by reason of the present Distractions. This therefore they looked upon to be their Harvest, which they were resolv'd to make use of, as industriously as they could; and in order thereunto would go in great Crouds in the Night-time with Fire Arms, and other Weapons, and steal an hundred or two hundred Head of Cattle at once from an *Englishman*. This practice continued so long, till many *English* Gentlemen, and substantial Farmers who had several hundreds of Black Cattle, and Sheep, &c. had not one left; so that those who had lived in great Hospitality and Plenty, had not now Bread to eat, or any thing left to preserve them from starving. This Calamity was almost Universal throughout the whole Kingdom, though

in some Counties more than in others; and I have been told, That in some County in the Province of *Munster*, Eleven Thousand Cattle were stble by the *Irish* in nine days; and that hardly one *English* Gentleman or Farmer in that Countrey had above two or three Cows left; and that for forty Miles together the *Irish* Cabbins were full of Beef stolen from the *English*, which they did not so much as bestow Salt upon, but hung it up to rot; and that it stunk and look'd as bad as any Carrion.

This I have by relation from that County, who are persons of very good Credit; but not being an Eye-witness of it, shall leave it to the Reader to judge; only this is certain, That an incredible havock was made by the *Irish* in all parts of the Kingdom: But I leave these Cannibals to devour one another, after consuming in this Barbarous and Impolitic manner, the Cattle and Breed of the Countrey, which in all probability will occasion a famine, or very great scarcity in that miserable Kingdom.

'Twas exceeding strange, and unaccountable to see the *English* possess'd with such various distractions upon the news of the intended Massacre already mentioned, some running to the North of Ireland among the *Scots*, others to the Isle of *Man*, and abundance for *England*, to shelter themselves; when at the same time, all that had any sense believed, that *Tyrconnel* would be the first Man in the Government that would endeavour his Escape: for most of his Goods of value were already pack'd up, and some of his Treasure Ship'd. In this posture they continued till *January*, and then some of the *Irish* Lords moved to have him surrender the Sword, and the whole Council board gave it for their opinion;

on; to which he only replied, Would they have him throw it over the Wall, for there was none to take it. Thus unhappy was the delay, which with too much reason may be feared to lie at the Door of Sir ~~James~~ here, and his friend *Keating* in *Ireland*, two Men that rais'd their fortunes in the last Settlement, and were making provision for the same Work again; and 'tis remarkable, that ~~James~~ Brother to these here, is (as 'tis said) the most *Irish* among the *Irish* at this day; and Sir ~~James~~ houses the only Sacred place from violence in *Dublin*. But of this Intrigue more may be expected, and time will shew, since the *Honourable House of Commons* have taken that matter into their prudent Consideration.

The deplorable Effects and Consequences attending the wrong measures taken for the reduction of that Kingdom, are perhaps, if duly reflected upon in all their Circumstances, more doleful than the Massacre and Rebellion there in *Forty One*, tho' 'tis much less considered: and it seems a Work becoming the great Council of this Nation to bring the Authors of it to condign punishment.

But to return to the last debate betwixt *Tyrconnel* and his Council. They were all of them in amaze, and in great confusion: What to do they knew not, all of them were unanimous in their Resolutions to submit, except the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*. The Priests put off their Wolves cloathing, and in most parts of the Kingdom turn'd Sparks with their Swords by their sides and Perriwigs upon their Heads. In this Month the *Irish* assembled together in great Bodies by the name of Raperees, armed with Skeens and Half Pikes, and what Robberies they

they left unacted upon the *English* in the Relation aforementioned, those they now compleated, killing their Cattle, and robbing and pillaging their Houses. Now their new Levies were Mustering every day, and their Priests exercising the fresh rais'd Soldiers, and *Hamilton's* Arrival from *England*, put them upon new resolutions, which necessitated the *English* to fortifie themselves, and to associate together for their own preservation against which Proclamations were issued out in the North, and at *London-derry*, and then followed the same in other parts of the Kingdom, commanding them home to their respective Dwellings, and that such as did not immediately observe the Proclamation, should be proceeded against by the Attorney General as Traytors. This Proclamation was signed by several *Protestants* of the Privy-Council, which was fatal to the *English*, in regard that it possessed many of them with a belief, that there was not so much danger as they were afraid of; and others it put in fears of the Law. So that upon the whole matter, they were diverted from any thoughts of making their defence, and so were disperied and scattered up and down, and by that means became an easie Prey to the *Irish*.

Every day brought in new hopes and fears, so that some got together again of the *English* near *Kilkenny* and the *Queens* County, who were soon disperied. Still the Lord Deputy and Council remained in suspence what to resolve upon, when upon a sudden they came to a conclusion, which might quiet the *Irish* Lords that were for submission to the Prince and Government of *England*. The Project was this. That two Men should be pitched upon, and sent over to the late King *James* in *France*,

only to set forth the impossibility of their holding out against *England*, and then they were sure to obtain permission to make terms, and so might surrender. But this was a *Jesuitical Stratagem*, contrived by *Rice* and *Neagle*, and as one of them brog'd since, carry'd on without the privity of any but the *Lord Deputy*, and themselves. For they were afraid of the Cowardly Temper of the rest, whose inclinations were favourable enough to the Cause, but wanted Courage and Resolution. The Scheme being thus laid, 'twas moved at Council, and took with general Applause. *Rice*, and the *Lord Mountjoy* were pitched upon to be sent; and in the conclusion of this Affair at Council Board, the *Lord Chief Justice Keating*, believing now that their hopes of *King James* were over, thought to begin with the first to shew his Zeal and Affection to the *Protestant Cause*, and in order to that moved, that since they were resolv'd on this method, that his Excellency would put a stop to the raising Men, which was agreed to, but not in the least observed.

1688.

Mountjoy and *Rice* proceed in their Negotiation, and take Shipping at *Waterford*, but before they arrived at *Paris*, the *French Engineer* Landed at *Corke*, and from thence rid with all expedition for *Dublin*. Then the face of things looked with a far different prospect to what they had done before, and those little hopes which had supported the *English* till this time, did now evaporate into nothing, which put them upon a necessity of associating together, and of getting into Castles and the best places of strength, they had for the defence and preservation of their Lives.

In

In *Connacht*, the Lord *Ringsdown* behaved himself like the Son of so Noble a Father, whose hand the *Irish* had set to the former Rebellion. In the *Ulster*, Sir *Arthur* *Magdon* did the like, but a fate attended him that he could not divert. In *Munster* the *English* were thought to be more considerable than in any part of *Ireland*, both for Horse and Foot: of the latter more than three thousand, and numbers of brave Gentlemen of gallant Courage and resolution, and of will enough to back it, to have drove the *Irish* out of that Province, and to have march'd through the Kingdom, *Cork*, *Bandow*, *Waterford*, and *Thurlogh* being offered to be delivered into their hands, which was so openly and indelicately managed, that it became the polidick discourse for a Month together in every Coffee-house in *Dublin*. At this time there were not seven hundred old Soldiers in the whole County of *Down*, which forc'd *James Mac Carthy* to write daily to *Tyrconnell* that he could not hold out, without a speedy supply of Men, which yet *Tyrconnell* could not spare; for he was afraid of an insurrection in the *North*, and was believed in *Dublin*, that if they in *Down* had done any illegal part of business had been found in the *North*, except *Lyons*, for that *Tyrconnell* could have spared some of his own Forces from himself, and the new raised men then knew not the right from the left, if mine be true. The fact lay just in two Men, but that being publick, mine will shew it, and my work here is to relate nothing but what there is good authority for.

Matters were now reduced to that extremity, 1633.
that no counsell remained to preserve the *English*, but

that of making their escape: for they were disarmed in one day throughout the Kingdom, and that order executed with so much rigour, that few persons of whatsoever quality were permitted to wear their Swords. In the Corporations they shut up the Gates, and suffered none to pass in or out without searching them strictly for arms, and when they came to search in their Houses, under pretence that the *English* had conceal'd their Arms, they sometimes seiz'd upon what Plate or Money they could meet with during this hurly-burly, which lasted for several days together, most of the Horses which belong'd to *English* Gentlemen and Farmers in the Countrey were violently seiz'd upon for the King's use, as was pretended, and several hundreds were brought into the Corporations, which were Garrisoned with *Irish* Soldiers, who quartered upon Private, as well as Publick Houses of the *English*, which were so full of them that they had scarce Beds for themselves to lie in. They now were in daily expectation of the Landing of the late King *James*: And this possessed them with so triumphant a joy, that the more to discourage the *English*, they not only gave out that he was arriv'd, when there was no such thing, but rung the Bells, made Bonfires, the Mayor and Aldermen in several Corporations drinking the King's Health, and the like. But this imaginary formality was but a prelude to the succeeding Triumph, to the real Landing of the late King. And then what they had done before in Effete, or in empty show, they now performed substantially, and to the life. 'Tis beyond any thing of human art to imagine, much more to describe the greatness of their joy at this time, and therefore I shall not attempt a representation, which would

would come infinitely short of those extravagant Pagantries which were now acted. Publick Fame has already given some account of it, and to that I refer the Reader.

I have now given (as without vanity and ostentation I may affirm it) as true and impartial a Relation as is possible, of the design the Abdicced King had from the happy Restauration of King *Charles the Second*, to make *Ireland* the refuge (if all other endeavours proved unsuccessful) for his *Catholick Friends*; and 'tis plain that 'twas the *French Alliance*, (which he always *assiduously* made Court to) upon which he depended in the accomplishment of this Intrigue. The *Irish* were very sensible of it, and since his accession to the Crown, would frequently boast, that if *England* should upon King *James's* Death, or any other misfortune, devolve into the *Protestants* hands, that they made no doubt of preserving *Ireland*, by the power of the *French*, and that the *Prince of Orange* (whom they always dreaded) would have his hands full at home: but that Sovereign Providence, by whom *Kings* Reign, and *Princes* decree Justice, has to the great astonishment of other Nations, most miraculously confounded all the wicked devices of his Adversaries, and preserved him to sit upon the Imperial Throne of these Kingdoms (where may he long Reign) not only to maintain the true *Reformed Religion* in his own Dominions, but to enlarge the best part of his Titles, *Defender of the Faith*, throughour the whole *Christian World*. For so indeed (whatever opinion some prejudiced Men amongst us may have) do all the *Reformed Churches* of *Europe* esteem him to be.

I thought

(Confulta, Negotiation) &c.

I thought to have put a period to this Discourse in this place, but observing the complaints of many that are fled from *Ireland* (whose misfortunes may indeed allow them grains.) I shall beg leave to animadvert a little on their mistakes in the hard usage which they think they have received here, in not being all immediately reprimed by the King's Bounty.

I shall not say what is too apparent of some who came from thence, and would shew themselves among Honest Men, as most of them are generally believed to be: yet even in this Relation where they could not be test but without making it imperfect, some are found faulty, and yet may pretend as fair as the best.

Every day produces additional reasons why the King cannot be too cautious in whom he confides; and 'tis to be feared that some of *Ireland* are not quite exempt from all suspicion as well as others in *England*.

But then as for those whose defects have excited them to his Majesty's good opinion, such as for their affection to the *Protestant Interest* and *Religion*, have been divested of their substance, and are in present want, those we see are brought out of his Majesty's Gracious Care, and Princely Consideration. For how many, I was about to say, how few, are excluded from Commands in the Army that desired it; besides all that had Commands formerly, and could not be employed, have had pay allowed them for their present subsistence. And then as for the poorer sort, his Majesty was before-hand in making provision for them, in issuing out his Brief for a General Collection throughout the whole Kingdom; which Charity has been gratefully acknowledged.

of the Rough Party in Ireland

knowned by that most Reverend Father
Archbishop of *Tuam*, in a Sermon at *St. James*

There now remains a great part of the Clergy and Gentlemen unemployed. As for the Clergy, his Majesty graciously, in his most excellent condition, did soon after his accession, by a *gracious* order, that whatever Benefices or Church Gift should become vacant, should be conferred upon them, besides the supply which the Briel affords them for the present. Hence we may observe, to what a narrow compals the noise of Forty Thousand People is reduced to, there being, according to the best account that is given, not Seven Hundred Men that are not, in some respect, or other, competently provided for. But that I may not be thought to have incurred a mistake in this computation, it must be observed, That a great part of the List given in to the *House of Commons*, are Men of Estates, or Money here in *England*; and though perhaps some of those make the greatest clamour, yet would it better become them to relieve their Distressed Brethren, than to abate the Charity, which the Parliament with great generosity, and a Christian compassion designed for the support of such as were really in a poor and an indigent condition. All I here say is matter of fact; and how partially soever his Majesty's present management may be misinterpreted by some; yet 'tis certain, that his silent, but wonderful conduct, in the provision for the Distressed Protestants of *Ireland* ought to be engraven in Golden Characters, and not defaced by the unreasonable Clamours of such, who would devour that which they have no want of, and consequently no just claim and title unto, to the apparent injury of their suffering and necessitous.

There is a strong feeling in the Government that the
 House of Commons is not doing its whole duty
 towards the country, and that the Government
 must make further steps to ensure that the Royal
 Bounties are paid in full and on time, as well
 as being accountable to their preying and

FINIS